The Nation.

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The Week.

It is a pleasure to be able to say of an important appointment by the President, namely, of Judge Taft, of the United States Circuit Court, for head of the new Philippine Commission, that Mr. McKinley's choice is a man of high character, excellent ability, and judicial mind. But this is a very different thing from expressing any assurance that a commission entirely composed of equally good men will accomplish satisfactory results. We need only recall the disappointing outcome of the old Commission's work, made up though that body was of men who seemed well chosen for the task set them. It is a very different thing, too, from endorsing the policy under which the President, not acting as Commander-in-Chief to name a Military Governor, assumes the dictatorial power of sending men to establish such civil government as may seem good to them and him, without the slightest authorization from Congress.

The treaty concerning the Isthmian canal so occupies the mind of the public that the ratification of the treaty of The Hague has passed almost unnoticed. There is nothing in this treaty to inflame our "patriotism," or cause us to exult in our ability to hold our own with a strong hand. In fact, the treaty was in danger of rejection because it was feared that it might somehow hinder our Government from going to war whenever it was so disposed. There is nothing in the treaty, however, that will prevent us from fighting whenever we have a just cause, while it will operate to prevent hasty and passionate declarations of war. Its ratification is one of those silent advances which civilization from time to time makes, and which place future generations on higher ground than our own. Gradually the idea that arbitration is the proper and natural method of settling disputes will become a part of the mental constitution of our citizens, and even of our Congressmen. If for no other reason, the fact that it encourages the growth of this idea is enough to make us rejoice over the ratification of this treaty. While there may be nothing in the report that, under its terms, our Government will presently extend its good offices in bringing about a termination of the South African war, the very fact that such a report is heard is significant. Without the support of this treaty the idea of extending our good offices could hardly have been entertained, while with its countenance there is nothing in it intrinsically improbable.

The report of the Republican majority of the ways and means committee makes a needless concession to scruples about the Constitution. It says that Congress has absolute and exclusive power over conquests, "except in so far as it is limited by the XIIIth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibits the existence of slavery in any place over which the United States has jurisdiction." But there is abundant contemporary authority for holding that the term "United States" is very ambiguous. In fact, we believe no less than four senses of the title have been pointed out. In the phrase "throughout the United States," where imposts and duties are spoken of, some hold that the States alone are meant, not the Territories. Others concede that the older Territories are included, but are not sure about Alaska; and they are clear that Porto Rico and the Philippines are not covered. Another view would seem to be that only the original thirteen States are meant, and that the others might be described, to use President Johnson's expression, as bodies "hanging on the verge of the Constitution." We cannot understand why such minds should feel any embarrassment because of the XIIIth Amendment. Is it not perfectly plain that "the jurisdiction of the United States" means the jurisdiction then exercised within the boundaries then existing? Observe, the amendment uses the word "has," not "shall have"! The necessary amplification and justification of this construction will be furnished by any believer in our imperial destiny and our boundless future. Such a construction will put to rest a number of awkward problems sure to arise out of the use of "contract labor," without which our tropical colonies cannot be exploited with profit.

Attorney-General Griggs ascended the glory-crowned heights again at the dinner of the Republican Club, on Monday night, but his speech was not more coherent than usual. "It is hard to understand," he said, "why the presence of our flag anywhere on the face of the globe should give offence to some Americans, especially when all the rest of the world seems content about it." The display of our flag in foreign parts may be on the mast of an American ship, or over the office of an American consul, in both of which cases it is typical of peaceful commerce. On the other hand, it may signify "criminal aggression." It may represent invasion and desolation of the homes of distant people who have done us no harm. In short, the question whether the presence of our flag abroad ought to give offence to any American citizens depends upon whether it represents a just cause or an unjust one. This branch of the subject was skilfully ignored by Mr. Griggs, who went on to shout that the United States has become a great world-power by growth, development, and an extension of her domain of territory as well as of trade "into regions where we must encounter the rivalries, and at the same time shall claim our share of the privileges, that pertain to the dominant Powers in administering the affairs of the Orient." This looks like a supplement to Secretary Hay's treaties negotiating for the "open door" in China, but it is really something quite different. It is a coarse, swaggering threat that if our claims in China are not recognized and granted, we shall use our foothold in the Philippines to make war on anybody who denies what we consider just claims. The reason why some Americans objected to the retention of our flag in the Philippines was, that it would bring our fighting apparatus into closer contact with the fighting machines of the Old World, and, therefore, tend to make wars more frequent; that it would expose the country to an unnecessary danger. Now this is avowed by a member of the cabinet as a policy desirable in itself. It is part and parcel of the spirit which demands that the Isthmian canal shall be fortified and made one of our implements of war, instead of being a new contribution to the triumphs of the Prince of Peace.

The remarks of the Chinese Minister at the dinner of the Silk Association on Thursday night were very diplomatic, but they veiled the severest reproach. This representative of an effete civilization, of a race incapable of progress, of a country so backward as to arouse the indignation of Christendom, actually lifted up his voice in support of those principles of human liberty which were recognized by our Constitution before it was outgrown. He commented on the decline of the silk business in China, and said that he was far from attributing it to the policy of our country; but added that he believed in fair competition, and that his country did not legislate against American trade. The doors of China, he said, were open, and it was recognized there that trade was barter, and was for the benefit of both sides. On this principle foreigners were not excluded by the Government from China, although, when they entered that country, they sometimes looked at things from an interested point of view. Even the pious and noble missionaries, whose good work was appreciated in China, occasionally suffered during popular disturbances, and when their governments interfered, something more than justice required was exacted from China. Finally, this representative of heathen-

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dom declared that he was glad to find that this great republic was not to adopt a policy of territorial aggrandizement, and congratulated the Americans on their devotion to a religion whose fundamental maxim was: "What you would have others do to you, do the same to them." This maxim, he ventured to suggest, might have some practical application in commerce and in international affairs. The audience received this speech with laughter and applause, but the diplomatic adroitness of the speaker hardly veiled his exposure of our cant.

Nothing in the shipping-subsidy bill now before Congress is more objectionable than the scheme for disguising bounties under the mask of contracts. The advocates of this measure do not like to speak of subsidies and bounties. These terms suggest that the moneys derived from the taxation of all the people are being applied to the use of certain favored individuals, and, if this idea becomes prevalent, the people may demand that such diversion of revenue shall cease. But a contract is a different thing. The element of valuable consideration is inseparable from the notion of a contract, and if it can be made to appear that payments to ship-owners are required by contracts duly entered into by the Secretary of the Treasury, such payments may be kept up indefinitely. Should the Democrats return to power and threaten to stop them, the ship-owners would at once cry out that the sacredness of contracts was attacked, that vested rights were imperilled, and that any diminution of their "compensation" would be an act of bad faith on the part of the Government.

Such "contracts," however, as are proposed in the subsidy bill, are neither fair nor legal obligations, and it is the duty of the opposition in Congress to notify all parties interested that they will not be recognized when the present Administration is overthrown. The general rule of law is that pensions and bounties are not enjoyed as of right, but of favor, and that they may be terminated without impairing any right of property. It does not change the character of a bounty to call it a contract, and the element necessary to support any contract—the consideration—is lacking. The Secretary of the Treasury may agree to pay money to certain ship-owners, but the ship-owners render him no service in return. They obtain a part of the revenue of the public, and spend it in building ships which are their private property. It is commonly believed that a consideration, and a very substantial one, will be paid by the ship-owners; but they will not pay it into the Treasury of the United States. There may be a contract; but it is a contract between certain private citizens and certain influential politicians, relating to the furnishing of money for the coming Presidential campaign, and to the compensation to be provided for those contributors out of the revenues of the government. Such a contract would not be enforceable at law, and it has no claim to be regarded as sacred.

The amendment to the Currency bill reported by Senator Aldrich, declaring that the act is "not intended to place any obstacles in the way of the accomplishment of international bimetallism, provided the same be secured by concurrent action of the leading commercial nations of the world, and at a ratio which shall insure permanence of relative value between gold and silver," is futile and unnecessary. It is a tub thrown to the whale after the whale has disappeared. In legislation we look for something substantial, or at least intelligible, but there is nothing substantial or intelligible in the phrases employed in this amendment. Which are the leading commercial nations of the world, and how many are they? What is the ratio that will insure permanence of relative value between gold and silver? These are the things which are to guide us in any future rambles after bimetallism. It is needless to say that such an amendment has no practical end in view—except, perhaps, to promote Senator Wolcott's reëlection in Colorado. It is a "stump-speech in the belly of the bill."

Gov. Roosevelt has formally announced that he will not, under any circumstances, accept the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. In giving out his statement he said: "And I am happy to state that Senator Platt cordially acquiesces in my views in the matter." The Governor had already made it practically impossible that he should be on the same ticket with Mr. McKinley, by pointedly opposing the President's policy on the two most important questions which have come up of late. Mr. McKinley favored a peaceable adjustment of the controversy in Kentucky; Col. Roosevelt's voice, as usual, was for war. Mr. McKinley accepted the civilized view that an Isthmian canal should be a neutral waterway for the commerce of the world; Col. Roosevelt, of course, insists upon the United States managing it in such a way that there shall always be a good chance for a fight over its control with one of the great Powers. The Governor sees that oil and water will not mix any better than such conflicting views as to the true policy of the party, both at home and abroad. The Governor believes that his surrender to the Republican boss has insured his renomination for his present office next fall, with the support, or at least without the opposition, of the party machine. At any rate, he will seek the nomination, as he has a perfect right to do, and he invites the judgment of the people upon the record which he has made in the executive office since New Year's of 1899.

The latest scheme to enlarge the pension list was unfolded at a Grand Army dinner at Washington last week, by Commander Shaw. He declared that a great injustice was done to many worthy applicants for pensions by the rejection of their claims. The trouble was due, he said, to "the hateful cry of fraud," and to the Pension Commissioner's lack of loyalty to the law. "We want," said Col. Shaw, "no more makeshifts, no more evasions, no more unworthy cries about 'frauds, frauds,' in pension affairs." To correct the present abuses, it is proposed to have established a court to hear appeals from the decisions of the Pension Commissioner, to consist of five judges with salaries of $5,000 a year each. Under the present system such appeals are made to the Interior Department, which has generally sustained the rulings of the Commissioner. A bill to establish such a court has been introduced already by Senator Mason, and no doubt its passage will be urged by a host of pension attorneys. When legitimate claims begin to be scarce, these attorneys turn to the great mass of rejected applications and devise means for reviving them. There seems to be no ground whatever for the complaint that meritorious claims for pensions are rejected. The private pension bills that are passed to remedy supposed hardships of this kind are generally found, if examined, to be of very doubtful character. Vague assertions of injustice in the Commissioner's rulings will not convince those who know anything about the subject that any court of appeals is necessary.

In view of the extensive improvements in transportation about to be carried out in this city, the report of the Superintendent of the State Free Employment Bureau has a special interest. During the past year there has been a considerable demand for manual labor, but it was almost impossible to secure employment for men in the public works of the city. The reason for this was that the work was "mortgaged" to the dominant political party, and no workmen not satisfactory to the party leaders were allowed to obtain employment. Even in such emergencies as the Street-Cleaning Department encounters after snow-storms the rule is not relaxed. In order to get work, the laborer must have the endorsement of an Alderman or a district leader, or enlist under some padrone. The consideration for these opportunities to labor is not only political fealty, but also a percentage on the wages received. Men who have earned $20 find it better to have their claims cashed at a discount

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of 10 per cent. than submit to the delays which they will otherwise experience. These statements are rather confirmations than revelations, and they make the support given by many sincere reformers to the eight-hour and union-wages rule in public works a cause for surprise. The laborers on these works are a favored class, in that they receive more pay for less work than laborers without political influence. Their higher wages are regarded by the politicians as a regular source of revenue, through assessments and discounts. The system benefits nobody but the Boss and his lieutenants, and the abuses which it creates constitute a strong argument against the policy of municipal ownership.

The City Club has resolved to take up a matter which certainly demands thorough investigation. A few days ago the public learned that the Brooklyn Wharf and Warehouse Company was unable to pay the interest due on its mortgage bonds, and that a receiver was to be applied for. Both plaintiff and defendant in the suit were willing to have a receiver appointed, and naturally both were anxious to secure a receiver who would preserve the great property involved from waste, and administer it in a business-like manner. It was stated at the meeting of the City Club by a very responsible lawyer, Mr. Wheeler H. Peckham, that the parties to the suit agreed that they would like to have the United States Mortgage and Trust Company, the trustee under the mortgage, appointed receiver. They were apprehensive, however, that the emoluments and patronage attached to such a position would influence the action of the court, and it was, therefore, deemed expedient to propitiate the "machine" by consenting to take ex-Mayor Grant. In this way, the counsel seem to have agreed, they might secure a fairly business-like management of the property, and at the same time concede something to the politicians. But the suggestion did not prove acceptable to the court. To the consternation of all the parties to the suit, the order appointing the receiver was found to contain, not the name of Hugh J. Grant, but that of John F. Carroll, who occupies the position of vicegerent in this city during Mr. Croker's absence.

The attorneys in the suit rebelled outright on seeing this order. They immediately decided not to submit to the prospective spoliation of the property, and resolved on the bold course of discontinuing their suit. This was evidently a step for which the court was unprepared. Had it been anticipated, it could have been checked; for if Mr. Carroll had once got his bond approved, few persons believe that an order discharging him would have been obtained. Unfortunately for Tammany Hall, the order appointing Mr. Carroll seems not to have been previously made known to him; at all events, the parties to the suit appeared before the court with consents to discontinue before Mr. Carroll was able to qualify. For the court to refuse to enter an order discontinuing an action on the consent of all parties thereto is an unheard-of proceeding; nevertheless, in this instance the court demurred. The prey had not only been scented; it had almost been tasted. The mouths of the hungry "Braves" of Tammany were watering; to have come so near to so fat a job and to lose it, after all, was too much to submit to. Yet the position was finally recognized to be untenable by the court, and, after hearing some very plain talk and some undisguised threats of future retribution, the court finally permitted the suitors to escape from its jurisdiction. It was an escape "so as by fire," and the parties fled to another judicial department, where the atmosphere is somewhat purer; and whither, we must say, considering the situation of the property, it is not easy to see why they did not go in the first place.

Probably the most conclusive piece of evidence in the Molineux trial is the verdict of the jury. It is unquestionably a surprise to the public. Many people who had followed the proceedings expected an immediate acquittal; perhaps most were sure that the jury would disagree. That after not unreasonably protracted deliberation a verdict of guilty should have been pronounced is a circumstance of very great weight. The jury was carefully selected, and was regarded as composed of better than the ordinary material. It was confronted with a mass of expert opinion sufficient to becloud any issue. It was distracted by continual and violent disputes between counsel, and not aided by much display of judicial firmness or discretion. It was exhausted by the protraction of testimony to an unparalleled length, so that the beginning might well have been forgotten before the end was reached. The jurors in this case, breathing the mephitic air of the court-room, stunned with the clamor of the lawyers, bewildered with the technical language of chemistry and physiology, warned of the fallibility of expert testimony, aware of the danger of trusting to circumstantial evidence, and wearied by the interminable length of the proceedings, might well have washed their hands of the responsibility of condemning a human being to death. That in spite of all these adverse influences they should have promptly found the prisoner guilty, establishes a very strong presumption that they have arrived at the truth. The fact that any verdict was reached, instead of the disagreement very generally expected, also constitutes a most impressive proof of the merits of the system of trial by jury.

It was a foregone conclusion that the English Government would be triumphantly sustained in Parliament. Reckoning in the Irish members, who refused to vote, and those Liberals who walked out of the House, the Government's majority was only about its normal figure; but that was more than was at one time anticipated, and was naturally hailed as a great Parliamentary victory for the Ministry. The fact that the Liberals could never think of taking office themselves if they carried a vote of censure, and that they were compelled to advocate a vigorous prosecution of the Boer war, necessarily made their attack feeble. But a tactical advantage of this sort is far from proving that the Conservatives will not yet suffer severely because of the African war. Chamberlain himself admitted that the Government had made many blunders and was much to be blamed. Perhaps its hugest blunder was in having so mismanaged a case in which there were at least elements of justice on the English side, as to make Great Britain appear in the wrong to nearly the whole civilized world, and to put into a grievous dilemma lovers of liberty in Europe and this country, who have been accustomed to think of English rule as synonymous with freedom and progress. The case has been put with force in a private letter from a leading Liberal of the Continent:

> "Next to my own country I love England. But in this war you are in the wrong. You are fighting against a small and brave people who are defending their freedom. If you beat the Boers I shall be very sad, but I am not sure that I shall not be sadder if you are beaten, for it will mean so much for human freedom."

France, as well as England and the United States, is exemplifying the horrible cost in life and treasure which colonial wars involve. The disastrous expeditions of the French army in Madagascar have recently been freshly brought to public attention. They constitute one of the charges made against Gen. Mercier in his campaign for election as Senator. In was under his direction that the calamitous expedition against the Malagasies was undertaken in 1895. The full official reports show what terrible and needless losses were suffered in that one year. Whole regiments were almost annihilated by disease, without having once met the enemy, the total deaths footing up 5,756, while the money spent on the ill-starred campaign amounted to more than $10,000,000. What is worse, evidence of official incompetence and neglect abounded. The medical reports had shameful things to say of the lack of foresight on the part of those in charge of the army: supplies were deficient; tents were missing; medicines never got to the front; mismanagement reigned on all hands. It was the old history of military adventure in the tropics. We, in the Philippines, are writing only one more miserable chapter in it.

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THE PORTO RICAN INHUMANITY.

The humane people of the United States cannot too soon be aroused to the fact that the Republicans in Congress are proposing to commit, in the name of this nation, an act of unparalleled and shameful cruelty. We refer to the bill taxing Porto Rican exports and imports to the extent of 25 per cent. of the Dingley rates. There are strong reasons for thinking this bill unconstitutional. They are set forth in the minority report, and also in the individual report of Mr. McCall of Massachusetts, a Republican who has the courage of his convictions, and, what his Republican colleagues apparently have not, a sense of humanity. But we do not now insist upon the illegality of the measure. Chatham indignantly cried in Parliament: "I come not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of Parliament, with the statute-book doubled down in dog-ears, to defend the cause of liberty." So we say to-day, be the constitutional right what it may; let the Supreme Court reverse itself if it choose; rule out all questions of fiscal need and policy—the fact remains that this proposed legislation is so cruel, so heartless, so charged with disaster and starvation for 900,000 human beings, that to adopt it would entitle Spain or Russia or even Turkey to send missionaries to us.

What are the facts? They are set forth in voluminous detail and with overwhelming force in the reports of our own officials. Governor-General Davis, Consul Hanna, Secretary Root, Commissioner Carroll, the President himself, have all shown how the immediate necessities of Porto Rico cry out for freedom of trade with this country. The inhabitants had practically a free market in Spain and Cuba. We destroyed that. Then we double-locked our own against them. The result is, as Secretary Root declared, that two crops of tobacco lie rotting in the warehouses of Porto Rico; that her coffee and her sugar are practically unsalable. This was true even before the hurricane of last August came to complete the ruin we had done our best to bring about by neglect. The hurricane was "an act of God." What can we call our deliberate attempt to prevent the Porto Ricans from living by honest labor but an act of the devil?

The tax on their exports is flagrant enough; but to make them pay one-quarter the Dingley rates on the necessaries of life would argue a perfectly fiendish ingenuity of malevolence. People do not generally understand this. The Dingley Schedule G, "Agricultural Products and Provisions," is a section full of "fake" duties, so far as we are concerned. These are the hoary old tariff taxes put in to fool the American farmer, and make him think that he, too, is "protected." But every one knows that the high duties dangled before his innocent eyes are not operative. They do not affect the cost of the prime necessaries in this country, for practically none are imported. In Porto Rico, however, these Dingley duties would take effect in crushing fashion. The island has long imported a vast amount of food products, paying for them with tobacco and coffee and sugar. Now the Republican plan is, on the one hand to refuse the Porto Ricans a market for what they raise, and on the other to tax them exorbitantly for the food they must have or starve.

Take a few sample figures. Commissioner Carroll returns the Porto Rican imports of rice in 1897 at 77,994,122 pounds. Here is a necessary of life, now free. We propose to clap on 25 per cent. of the Dingley rate of 2 cents per pound. In other words, we propose to tax a ruined and starving people $389,000 on a single and necessary article of food! Did a Borgia or a Bajazet ever condemn his subjects to death with a more refined cruelty? The case will be very much the same with the other leading imports of Porto Rico—kerosene oil, pork, lard, flour, fish. Salt fish is taxed three-fourths of a cent a pound in the Dingley tariff; flour, 25 per cent. ad valorem; lard, two cents a pound; pork, two cents a pound, and so on. In other words, all these sleeping Dingley duties on food, which are only a joke to us, are to be wakened by the bill before Congress, and set to clutching the throats of the unhappy Porto Ricans, whom we rescued from the tyranny of Spain in order to fling them into the jaws of our Moloch of protection.

This, we say, is an act of stark inhumanity, to which we do not believe the American people will ever consent. Certainly they will not if its monstrous nature is brought home to them. Why, we might as well turn our soldiers loose in the island to butcher the inhabitants as to decree their death by act of Congress. When Russia annexed the Crimea in the last century, she put 30,000 Tartars, men, women, and children, to the sword. Is our proposed course a whit less unfeeling and bloody? Here are 900,000 fellow-men; if not fellow-citizens, they are at least our subjects, as even the Imperialists must admit. Their lives and fortunes are in our hands. We propose to rob them of both. And the leaders in the crime are the Senators from Connecticut—the State of schools and universities and churches! That State has no more inhabitants than Porto Rico; yet its representatives in Congress, some of them lights in the religious world, coolly urge a bill to extinguish the right of nearly a million men under our flag to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The whole thing seems a ghastly joke—like Swift's proposal to kill and eat the babies in Ireland. But if this law is pushed in dead earnest, there will be need of Swift's *sæva indignatio* against its authors and abettors. Is this to be a final demonstration of the inhuman nature of protection? When the McKinley tariff worked distress in Vienna, its author exulted over the misery he had wrought. Will he now sit idly by and see a protective tariff made an instrument of torture for men and women and children under the American flag? We cannot believe it; nor can we believe that the religious and educated opinion of this country will tolerate the crime which the Republicans in Congress are intending to commit in the name of protection. The American people are not cruel. They do not want the blood of Porto Ricans or Cubans or Filipinos on their heads. But, if they would be guiltless, they must lose not a moment in letting their selfish and besotted representatives at Washington know what they think of this attempt to make the United States synonymous with greed and cruelty.

FROM BLAINE TO HAY.

The full text of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty has now been made public, and bears out all that has been said in its favor as an instrument of civilization and peace. Perhaps the best way of demonstrating its enlightened and progressive character is to show how Secretary Hay's positions in 1900 differ from the demands of Secretary Blaine in 1881. It was Mr. Blaine who first exploited the idea that an Isthmian canal would be a part of the coast-line of the United States. In his letter to Minister Lowell of June 24, 1881, he wrote that such a canal would be "substantially a part of our coast-line." By November 19, of the same year, he had got to the point of affirming that "the United States will always insist upon treating the great water-way as part of her coast-line." Naturally, there could be no neutralization. Mr. Blaine vehemently asserted that, in time of war, "the passage of armed vessels of a hostile nation through the canal would be no more admissible than would the passage of the armed forces of a hostile nation over the railway lines joining the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the United States." And in the very fore-front of his list of "the changes necessary" in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, in order "to meet the views of this Government," he put the following:

> "First—Every part of the treaty which forbids the United States fortifying the canal and holding the political control of it in conjunction with the country in which it is located, to be cancelled."

One glance at the modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty now before the Senate shows how completely these reactionary and impossible contentions have been abandoned. The first specification of the neutrality of the future canal provides that it "shall be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to the vessels of commerce and of war

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of all nations." What Mr. Blaine characterized as wholly inadmissible, is thus not only admitted, but proclaimed highly desirable. And his impatient demand that the right be given us to fortify the canal has the fitting comment made upon it in the seventh specification: "No fortifications shall be erected commanding the canal or the waters adjacent." In short, the present treaty is a full justification of what President Cleveland said in his annual message of December 8, 1885, namely, that the only way to secure the neutralization of interoceanic transit was to make "the use of the route open to all nations, and subject to the ambitions and warlike necessities of none."

Mr. Hay deserves high praise for quietly sponging the slate of all the Jingo absurdities and extravagances. He plainly saw that in no other way could the matter go forward. If he had gone at Salisbury in the pugnacious way in which Blaine approached Granville, he would have got the same answer that Blaine did—that "her Majesty's Government rely with confidence upon the observance of all the engagements of that treaty [the Clayton-Bulwer]." A modification of the treaty necessarily meant a friendly attempt to agree with Great Britain, instead of berating her. If there was to be any diplomatic progress at all, Mr. Hay clearly saw that the shirtsleeves and shot-gun methods of the art of managing foreign relations must give way to civilized usages. More than that, being a man with a mental horizon not bounded by the valley of the Ohio, in touch with international ideas, familiar with the conception of a world's commerce and a world's peace and their needs, the Secretary of State has risen to his great opportunity of preparing the way for an interoceanic canal, that shall be a means of international unity and amity, as well as a highway of international commerce.

Why, then, is his work so bitterly assailed? Why is he accused of surrendering, of being tricked in the negotiation? Why are even the leading New England Senators found opposing this great step forward in international good feeling and service of the world's trade? Partly, we suppose, it is the effect of Jingo virus in the veins. We have been so long bred to the wild notion that an Isthmian canal is primarily an instrument of war, a work of military strategy, a means of infuriating our enemies, that it is hard for us to go over at once to the common-sense idea of it as a great labor of peace and for the cementing of peace. The old confusions about "control" still bother us. But we have learned something about sea-power since Blaine's day. The true control of the canal in time of war is at sea. The Power able to beat an enemy's fleet before it gets in sight of the canal is the Power that will be able to prevent a foe from utilizing it in war. That was true under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; it will remain true under its proposed modification. The Jingo Senators are imagining a vain thing.

But we suspect that the opposition to Secretary Hay's beneficent diplomacy has other and baser motives. A part of the outcry sounds very like the fury of disappointed speculators and contractors. They fear that Congress will never vote the money for a thoroughly neutralized and non-military canal. Then where will their bonds and liens and concessions and contracts come in? Already they are raising the constitutional point that Congress has no power to lay taxes (and hence vote money) except for "the defence" of the United States. A canal for the free use of all the world is not a thing to defend us or to be defended. But, luckily, these unworthy motives cannot be avowed. The men actuated by them can work against Secretary Hay only in darkness and secrecy. What he has done is so plainly in the interest not only of this country but of all the world; is so undeniably in the line of progress and humanity, that the friends of civilization and peace should see to it that his statesmanlike achievement be not crippled or defeated.

SUBSIDIES OF VARIOUS KINDS.

Senator Butler of North Carolina has proposed an amendment to the shipping-subsidy bill in the interest of farmers. It provides that there shall be paid out of the Treasury of the United States to any exporter of wheat, rye, corn, flour, cotton, hops, or tobacco, to foreign ports, the sum of ten cents per bushel on wheat; fifty cents per barrel on wheat flour; ten cents per bushel on rye; fifty cents per barrel on rye flour; five cents per bushel on corn; seven cents per cental on corn ground; one cent per pound on cotton; two cents per pound on hops; two cents per pound on tobacco. This is a practical way to insure to the agriculturists the direct benefit of the subsidy which the Hanna-Payne bill proposes to pay them in an indirect manner through the pockets of the steamship owners.

Hanna will probably think that Butler is trying to load the bill down with amendments so that it will sink, either in the Senate or the House. Hanna may even think that the Butler amendment is "paid for," like the adverse criticisms of the press. However that may be, we think that it will be unsafe for Senators who represent the agricultural States of the West to vote $9,000,000 per year for twenty years for ship-owners, and vote against a proviso to pay the farmers anything for their contributions to our glorious export trade. We say glorious advisedly; for what is the significance of the American flag at the mast-head without a cargo underneath? All the arguments in favor of shipping subsidies are based upon the idea of export trade. They say that "trade follows the flag," and some people are so fuddled by their own phrases that they make the flag of more importance than the trade. Senator Butler rightly conceives that the trade is the important part of the scheme, and that the subsidy should be given in part at least to those who furnish the exports, and not wholly to those who carry them.

Other amendments in harmony with this conception are said to be in embryo. Some Western Congressmen who have been repeatedly told that the promotion of export trade is the object of the Hanna-Payne bill, have been so simple as to raise objections to the discrimination in the bill in favor of large and fast passenger steamships. The bill provides a certain rate of subsidy per mile per ton for all craft, sail or steam. Then it provides an additional rate for vessels over 1,500 tons, with a higher rate for those of 3,000 tons, and a still higher rate for those of 8,000 tons, with increments also for the rate of speed, ranging from fourteen to twenty-one knots. The scheme seems to have been cunningly drawn to fit the present and prospective conditions of the International Navigation Co. Now these shortsighted Congressmen from the West say that this preference ought not to be given to passenger steamers; that if any advantage is given to one kind of craft over another, it ought to be given to freight steamers, tramp steamers if you please. What is a tramp steamer but a ship carrying freight cheaply; and is it not the object of the subsidy bill to get our freight carried at low rates so far as the shipper is concerned?

The advocates of the Hanna-Payne bill were quick to scent danger in this quarter, and proposed to meet it by putting a limit of $2,000,000 on the amount to be paid in any one year to steamers of high speed. This did not satisfy the Western objectors, who could see no reason for paying any subsidy at all to passenger-boats. Why should we pay money out of the Treasury, they said, to send our people to Europe? Why should we tax ourselves to furnish fine ships and low fares to rich men who are abundantly able to pay their own way? These people, who flock to Europe every year, carry money out of the country and spend it abroad, to the detriment of home industry and our balance of trade, besides aping foreign manners and learning that this country is not good enough for them. Why should we vote public money to promote this kind of snobbery? So these objectors are of the opinion that no subsidy at all should be given to passenger steamers, but that it should be restricted wholly to freight boats. This is a sound view, if any subsidy at all is needed or justified—which we deny.

From various sources we gather that the subsidy-hunters are in trouble. The

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Tribune's dispatches say that, in order to obviate objections to the Hanna-Payne bill, a number of amendments have been prepared and will be reported by the committees of the Senate and House. One of these amendments limits the "compensation for speed" to $2,000,000 per year, or to 22 per cent. of the largest sum appropriated in any one year. This is regarded as a great concession to the taxpayers, but it does not seem to be sufficient, for the dispatches to the *Times* say that the bill is to be reported favorably, and then dropped for the present session, on account of the opposition of Western and Northwestern Republicans. We are quite prepared to believe this.

We warn the advocates of the scheme, however, that they will never be stronger in Congress, or in the country, than they are now, and that if they pause in their efforts to pass the bill, their prestige will be shattered. They will lose ground from that moment. There is no such thing as standing still on a proposition to raid the Treasury of the United States. Here is a cool proposal to pay to one steamship company a sum of money equal to 20 per cent. per annum on its capital, in addition to its regular commercial earnings from freight and passengers. Any such scheme as that must either be put through at once, before the public understands it, or be abandoned altogether. To lay it over a year, for prying investigators and carping critics to work upon, is to insure its death.

A DAY ON CHALGROVE FIELD.

I do not remember a time when the following passage from Macaulay did not ring in the ears of my memory. If I had written one of those remarkable essays of a few years ago on "Books that have influenced me" I should have put down the essay of Macaulay's on Nugent's 'Memorials of Hampden.' It closes as follows:

"The news of Hampden's death produced as great a consternation in his party, according to Clarendon, as if their whole army had been cut off. The journals of the time amply prove that the Parliament and all its friends were filled with grief and dismay."

Lord Nugent had quoted a remarkable passage from the *Weekly Intelligencer:* "The memory of this deceased colonel is such that in no age to come but it will more and more be had in honor and esteem. A man so religious and of that prudence, judgment, temper, valor, and integrity, that he hath left few his like behind."

And now Macaulay again:

"He had indeed left none his like behind him. There still remained, indeed, in his party many eloquent tongues, many brave and honest hearts. . . . But it was when the too sullen tyranny of Laud and Charles had succeeded the fierce conflicts of sects and factions ambitious for ascendency and burning for revenge; it was when the vices and ignorance which the old tyranny had generated, threatened the new freedom with destruction, that England missed the sobriety, the self-command, the perfect soundness of judgment, the perfect rectitude of intention, to which the history of revolutions furnishes no parallel or furnishes a parallel in Washington alone."

The reverence for Hampden which this expresses was stimulated in me many years later by a very charming article in the June number of the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1859, by Col. Wentworth Higginson, entitled "A Charge with Prince Rupert," describing the cavalry raid from Oxford, in opposing which Hampden met his death. There has been a controversy, within a very few years, as to whether Hampden's wound was caused by the pistols of the Cavaliers, or by the bursting of his own. But that makes little difference. I had always intended, if I ever found myself near Chalgrove Field, to make a pilgrimage to the spot where this great man met his fate. I was staying last September at the house of a friend in Oxfordshire, and, hearing from my hostess that Chalgrove Field was only a few miles away, I saw the long-looked-for hour had come, and I started for the famous spot on a path through the happy autumn fields. I was told a monument had been erected about fifty years ago on the place where the great man received his wound, by a body of English Liberals. For a mile and a half we followed one of those delightful grassy lanes of English country, stopping only too often to pick the blackberries which barred our progress and with which the hedges abounded, and exciting the curiosity of many herds of prosperous-looking cattle. We opened many gates, climbed many stiles, without seeing any sign either of the monument or of Chalgrove church; we finally fell in with a farmer who showed us the spire in the distance, still across the fields covered with the signs of recent harvesting. Twenty minutes more and we were in the grassy streets of the village, without seeing a soul to inquire of. The population all seemed absent, gathering their crops. At last we saw an open door where a tidy-looking woman stood kneading her bread. She presumed of course we wanted to see the church, which is one of the oldest and quaintest in England, and contains some of those early mural paintings which carry one back to the tenth century. On telling her that we desired to see the monument of Hampden even more than the church, she expressed polite surprise that we should be so besotted, for "Hampden," she said, "was a traitor." We found afterwards that the clergyman of the parish was a strict Ritualist, and we saw clearly that it was his influence which had made this good woman pay more respect to the memory of King Charles than to that of John Hampden. In fact, the traditions of the Church all over England are and have been, except in one or two dioceses, opposed to what is called "liberalism."

After a pleasant half-hour in the antique church and in the grassy churchyard—for we had interest and sentiment enough for both church and monument—we got the local carrier to drive us over to the latter, which stood a mile from the village. It was in an angle of the cross-roads, two or three dozen yards from where Hampden received his death-wound. The monument is a plain shaft, engraved with the names of its constructors, most of them men who figured later in the short and happy records of Peelite politics. Rupert, it will be remembered, was making many excursions from Oxford, where the King had established himself, in order to "beat up" the Parliamentarian quarters in the country around. Hampden had heard of it, and was chagrined by the impunity which Rupert owed to Essex's supineness. On hearing of this foray he called his Buckinghamshire cavalry together, and made a hurried march in order to seize the Stadhampton bridge, which he felt sure Rupert would have to cross on his way home. His levies were raw, and when, on coming in contact with the enemy, Rupert leaped the hedge which divided them, and fell upon them, sword in hand, he wrought somewhat of a panic among them, for he was of huge stature, determined countenance, and a practised sabreur. Hampden was there in front, and, instead of seeking to "confer," as a modern politician would do, met him in arms and almost immediately received two bullets in the shoulder. On seeing him turn, his followers broke and were pursued for a short distance. He rode mortally wounded from the field to Thame, and there, six days later, he died, probably the greatest loss that England has ever sustained in the person of one man.

He was buried in the churchyard of his own village of Hampden, and was followed to the grave by his troopers, with their arms reversed, singing, as Macaulay says, "the lofty and melancholy psalm" which declares, "For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday, when it is passed, and as a watch in the night."

Hampden, like Washington, was one of the men who occasionally appear, as the ages roll by, to make you proud of your race and raise your hopes of its future. I could not but think, in standing where he fell, that I stood on holy ground, and felt more than ever the force of the lines—

> "But whether on the scaffold high
> Or in the battle's van,
> The fittest place where man can die
> Is where he dies for man."

In returning, our friendly carrier drove us past the site of an ancient and lordly mansion, of which the civil war had caused the destruction, Fairghley Hall. The old gates, the old park walls, the stately avenues of secular beeches and elms, the outhouses, with the ponds and terraces of the old garden, were still there, offering, we thought, as we sat down among them to rest, an irresistible temptation to the American multimillionaire to build himself an ancestral home on the old site, and take to himself Cavalier ancestors. In such places the thought inevitably occurs, if all the beautiful things which the earth has owed to man's industry and taste had escaped his rage for destruction, what an attractive abode it would be. E. L. G.

IMPRESSIONS IN THE MEXICAN HIGHLANDS—V.

GUERRERO, September, 1899.

Guerrero, in Chihuahua, must not be confounded with the important State of that name in the southwestern portion of the Republic. On nearly all maps, even of recent date, this town is called Concepción, following the old title derived from the mission station that formed the nucleus around which it grew. Its local importance is great, due in part to the large amount of arable land in its vicinity, having at command an unfailing abundance of water from the Guerrero River, and chiefly because of its favorable geographical location on the extreme western edge of the plains, where cargoes must be broken for transfer by mule trains

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into the Sierra Madre. It is already a thriving place of 4,000 inhabitants, and as soon as it has become the terminus of the new railroad, now nearly completed from Chihuahua, its commercial progress will be rapid. Mining is the chief dependence of the mountain region, but hitherto the enormous cost of supplies has prevented the operation of any but large and highly productive properties. Improvement in transportation, however, will lead to the development of many new mines, increasing the volume of business, to the joy of the Guerrero merchants.

The dispatching of goods by mule-trains is a unique occupation, and, though profitable, not every one who undertakes it is able to succeed. It involves, first of all, a thorough acquaintance with the mountain region, the camping-grounds, pasturage, the state of the roads and streams, and an equally intimate knowledge of the characters and reliability of the *arrieros* (muleteers) and their assistants. A skilful arriero will take his train-load of freight through in safety at any time, while an incompetent man might lose many mules and much cargo, particularly during the rainy season. Again, an energetic, faithful man will occupy no more than from ten to fourteen days in the trip to Jesus Maria, a distance reckoned as 160 miles, which the laggard could hardly cover in a month. The custom among the arrieros is to depend upon pasturage entirely for feeding their animals en route, except during the height of the dry season in April and May, when a portion of the train must carry corn for the rest. The delays for feeding consequently consume a large part of the time in transit. Then, much time is lost in "rounding-up" the mules, adjusting the *aparejos* (pack-saddles), and in lashing on the cargoes. The chief display of skill on the part of the arriero is shown in his adjustment and fastening of the pack. If not well balanced and securely lashed, constant readjustment will be necessary throughout the day. To do it well requires good judgment and long practice. When finished, the mule and his cargo seem covered by a bewildering network of rawhide ropes and wooden hooks (*ganchos*), but it is all disposed according to a system, each rope performing its own peculiar function, which the arriero fully understands. Three hundred and fifty pounds is the maximum load for a strong mule, and one hundred to one hundred and fifty for a burro. And such awkward, heterogeneous cargoes as they carry! Cog-wheels and shovels, railroad iron and drill steel, candles, dynamite, boxes of groceries almost as big as the mules that bear them, and flasks of mercury, insignificant as to size, but, from the oscillation of the heavy mobile fluid within, constituting a most fatiguing burden.

The long lines of laden beasts, patiently toiling in zigzag paths up and down these steep inclines, are an interesting feature of the mountain journey. A little bronco, with a tinkling bell on his neck, leads the way, with an arriero by his side, while the drivers follow the train, urging the slower-footed animals with incessant, short, sharp whistles, "Wheet! wheet!" and cries of "Arre! arre, mulas!" No civil engineer better understands the practical value of reducing grade by detouring on a steep incline than these experienced pack-mules. They are continually expanding the curves, and would stretch out the road to an interminable length but for the energetic reproaches of their drivers.

Travellers never accompany these tedious cargo-trains. Though the difficulties of the trail are very great, horses are always ridden, with strong active mules for baggage and provisions. Properly equipped, with a good *mozo*, or servant, one can average fifty miles a day. It all depends on the mozo, and good ones are rare. Upon him also largely rests your personal safety. The organized bandits have ceased to be a terror, thanks to the effective police administration of the Mexican Government, but the mozo is an ever-present danger. You cannot well dispense with him, and yet many a traveller is murdered at night by his servant for the pittance he may carry in his purse. Whether it be necessary or not, every one carries a rifle in a holster slung under his saddle-skirt, and a revolver in his belt. In case of attack, however, these would be of little avail, for the Mexican highwayman shoots his victim from safe ambush first, and robs him afterward. The danger at night must be unflinchingly taken. The only effective safeguard is to engage none but a well-known mozo, and then to inform yourself as to the proper stopping-places on the road, and insist on reaching one of the caravansaries on your list each night, no matter what may betide. If your servant shows a disposition to camp in the open, or to put you up at unfamiliar ranches, you will be justified in holding him under grave suspicion, and in sleeping with an eye open. Between Guerrero and Jesus Maria, the customary halting stations, where provender for animals, and supplies of milk, eggs, chickens, and tortillas, may be obtained, and where the honesty of the people can be depended upon, are Terrero, Rio Verde, Tomóchic, Aguas Calientes, and Tabacótes.

It is a long day's ride from Guerrero to Rio Verde, passing Terrero on the way. Three lofty ridges must be crossed, besides a lower but very steep one between Terrero and Rio Verde, on this day's ride. Three more ranges, with an hour's hard work in surmounting each, bring one to Tomóchic, a veritable oasis in this barren waste of crags and gulches. Here first are seen mountains of sandstone, flat-topped semi-domes, bold precipices with lines of stratification drawn across their faces, and black caverns yawning where waters have beaten in some distant past. Deep down under the shadows of these peaks and domes lies a nearly circular level floor, laid off into corn fields, with a brown adobe town and a ruined church in the centre. Two rivers issue from cañons, join forces, and wind across this intermontane mesa, and then plunge into another cañon on their way to the Rio Yaqui. Here are evidences of a former lake, whose life history was rudely interrupted by seismic or volcanic agencies, draining it before its basin had been filled.

Not only is Tomóchic a spot of rare beauty and startling contrasts; it is a meeting-place of many roads, and a divisional point between the flora of the plains and the lofty mountains. A few hasty journeys through this complex mountain system are insufficient to give one a very accurate notion of its geology; but some features stand out in strong relief. There has been folding of the old Tertiary rocks on a magnificent scale, with extensive faulting. The deeply buried strata, fusing with relief of pressure, have followed up under the arches of the anticlines, forming mountains of felsite now exposed by the denudation of the overlying formations. In places dikes have intruded from this lower ferruginous magma, which to-day stand forth as walls of brick-red porphyry. Subsequently, mighty eruptions of trachyte forced their way through lines of weakness, following the axes of the anticlines, or opening fissures along fault-planes in a transverse direction. The most magnificent of these trachyte dikes is one averaging more than a thousand feet in width, intruding through a complex of fault-planes running west-northwest from Tomóchic. The junction between this dike and the adjacent sandstones has proved so feebly resistant to erosion that the waters have here carved out Banderilla Cañon, one of the grandest gorges in Mexico. The pinnacled escarpments of trachyte, the fantastic cliffs, and terraces of sandstone like stupendous Egyptian architecture, the grotesque caverns and balanced rocks, the twilight gloom of the narrow cañon with walls towering thousands of feet above, the suggestions of superstitious awe which this marvellous scenery has inspired (as shown by crosses planted on lofty crags or disposed in the shadows of smoke-stained caves), the roar of waterfalls, the ceaseless sighing of the wind through notches in the mountains—all combine to leave an impression of might and mystery and beauty which can never be forgotten.

It is conspicuous that these cañons have almost invariably had their location determined by dikes of trachyte, or by dikes of basic intrusives (either basalt or andesite) which burst through at some period after the trachytic outflow, following approximately the same general lines of weakness. But most curious is the abrupt change in character at Tomóchic between the vegetation east and west of this point. Elevations of nine to ten thousand feet are common on either side, but eastward the mountains resemble in almost all details the ranges which intersect the plains. The same scrubby evergreen oaks, with their small, slender, rigid leaves, the clustering manzanilla bushes with gnarled, shining, maroon-colored stems, the open, bare appearance of the peaks with secate growing to their summits, the grayish-brown hue of the landscape, are precisely what one may see at Colláchic or in Pedernales Gap. More than this, there is evidence that the mesa country did once extend to Rio Verde at least, within fifteen miles of Tomóchic, which is probably fifty miles west of Guerrero. By road the distance is nearer seventy miles. The valley immediately to the eastward of Rio Verde is the result of denudation of a mesa. The corrugated edge of the mesa-bench, now nothing more than a fringe high up on the flanks of the enclosing mountains, the characteristic mammillated surface of the lower denuded region, the lava terraces, all are here, but in a more advanced stage of degradation than is to be seen elsewhere in Chihuahua. This effect would seem to be due to rejuvenation of the rivers by the elevation of this ancient level plain. It raises a very interesting question as to the relation between the upheaval of the great Sierra, with its intrusive rocks, and the geological phenomena which produced the parallel mountains of the plain. It might serve as a time measure, and is worthy of careful study.

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The most extraordinary intrusion of basic rocks to be seen on the whole route across the mountains occurs at Rio Verde, on the western edge of this old denuded mesa. These rocks are apparently rich in alkalies, so that in their decomposition they yield a soil in which no vegetation can flourish. They are bleached, barren, desolate, crumbling away by concentric weathering, leaving fantastic towers and masses like the ruined walls of structures built of rubble. Well does it merit its appellation of the Devil's Field (El Campo del Diablo).

West of Tomóchic the oaks are rapidly replaced by pines, until at Tabacótes splendid forests of conifers cover the mountains to their summits. Even a few hemlocks and spruces appear, with other species belonging to more northerly latitudes, and a singular scrubby tree, probably a heath, called the *madroño*, with dense foliage of corrugated, obovate, thick, brittle leaves, glossy-green above and covered with white down on the under surface. Its gnarled trunk and branches are brilliant red on one side, fading off into a dull creamy gray on the other, as if it had once received a coat of paint which the weather had nearly worn away. Other vegetation, however, is very scanty until the advent of the rains in June and July. This is properly the springtime of the high mountains. The flowers burst forth with suddenness, and amidst the general barrenness their brilliancy seems enhanced, and they assume a prominence quite out of proportion to their numbers. The most abundant of the smaller plants are vetches and sorrels, though the compositæ and liliaceæ are also common. The vetches, however, are the dominant family, as many as twenty distinct species being counted in one small valley, but no arboraceous forms of the leguminoseæ were found. The adaptability of the country to the culture of beans, peas, and alfalfa is unmistakable, but the available agricultural land is insignificant in extent. Such as there is has mostly been occupied by the Tarahumara Indians, a native tribe which, after a long struggle against the Apaches, finally exterminated these enemies with the aid of rifles supplied by the Mexican Government, and has now settled down to peaceful industry. Their wretched stone huts are in striking contrast with their well-tended farms and sleek cattle. In appearance and mode of living they are still savages, but the instinct of the husbandman is strong in them, and the country is better off for their existence. The sterling qualities of this race are shown by the circumstance that the Government officials charged with the transportation of bullion from the mines to Chihuahua employ only Tarahumaras as guards for the treasure-trains.

Although mining has been carried on for many decades in this region, the industry has only made a fair beginning as yet. Very little intelligent prospecting has been done, and the discoveries made have been the result of accident. The relation of the veins to the geology of the country is extremely simple. They seem to have been formed after the latest intrusions of basic lavas, in close connection with the contacts between these and the preceding acidic intrusives. This relationship holds good also for many of the greatest veins in the mountains of the plains. Hence one may expect that something might come of the reported occurrence of metalliferous deposits in the vicinity of Rio Verde and Guerrero, where the geological setting is certainly similar to that in which veins are being worked in the District of Ocampo, in the vicinity of Jesus Maria. For a like reason it is not improbable that the claims made by residents of Colláchic and Santa Isabel, farther east, concerning veins in those localities, may have some foundation in fact. The ores for the most part are not simple, carrying chiefly silver, often with important quantities of gold, associated with more or less copper, lead, and antimony. Rich veins of argentiferous copper and lead have been reported at various times, and some have been worked in a crude way, but little is yet known concerning them. Mining operations are necessarily conducted here under severe difficulties, owing principally to the excessive cost of transportation, and this hardship will not soon be overcome. The railroad from Chihuahua is obliged by the charter under which it is being built to continue across the mountains, and the route is expected to lead through the District of Ocampo, but this is all in the future. It will be a great boon, however, when freight may come to Guerrero by rail, and mining operations in the mountains will undoubtedly expand largely in consequence.

In spite of the large sums paid out as wages by the mining companies, there is terrible poverty throughout the whole Sierra Madre. The cost of provisions is so high that even those of frugal habits (who are very few) cannot lay up money, and a temporary stoppage of mining work throws the idle upon the charity of the community. Some who have grown discouraged from the uncertainty of employment in the camps have taken small ranches in the intermontane valleys, where they may at least grow corn and beans to feed themselves and their children, and raise goats to give them milk, even if they cannot buy clothes to wear. It fills one with inexpressible sadness to see these poor, starved, timid children of the mountains, often bare from their waists up, shivering in the icy blast, hoping against hope that the traveller who has come to their roof for the night may invite them to share some of his abundance to appease for once their hunger. Yet, famished as they are, they will never venture to ask for as much as a cracker, and, after all that has been said about the purloining habits of the Mexicans, it is pleasing to be able to testify that, so far as one traveller's experience goes, neither the provision-box nor baggage was ever molested, though no special precautions were taken to protect either. This is rural honesty—strong here as it is among the agricultural classes of nearly every country in the world. In the towns and mining camps one cannot be so trustful, but, considering the conditions under which they live, and the lawlessness which so long existed, it is creditable to the character of the common people that they do not more often take to open brigandage, which in these wild mountains one would think could be conducted with no great fear of the civil authorities. But it must not be forgotten that the Government has pursued the bandits, whenever they have appeared, with relentless energy. When captured, they have been shot without ceremony, and their bodies have been hung up by the wayside as a warning to the evil-minded. To bring rude men like these of the Sierra Madre to respect the law of the land was no easy task, but it has been accomplished in a most commendable manner. And as the paths of commerce and the pursuit of industry have been rendered safe, the schools have followed under the guidance of the State, even into the remotest hamlets of the mountains. Whoever thinks that the Government of Mexico is weak will experience an agreeable change of belief by penetrating into these mountain fastnesses of Chihuahua, than which there could be no more difficult place for the maintenance of law and order.

COURTENAY DEKALB.

Correspondence.

BETTERING THE INSTRUCTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My Kentucky friends seem to have improved upon the "Returning Boards" of Reconstruction days. They now have two, so that if one should miss fire, as was the case here, they can fall back upon the other. The law is abominable, I grant you, but in this case there is a bit of poetic justice (so called) in it, that commends itself to those of us who lived south of Mason and Dixon's line in the seventies.

VIRGINIUS.

February 9, 1900.

THE SHIPPING SUBSIDY BILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the daily papers of the 17th of last month the President of the International Navigation Company, in his testimony before the congressional committee having the Subsidy bill in charge, is reported to have said: "The four fast ships [the *New York*, *St. Louis*, *St. Paul*, and *Paris*] never made the Company a dollar, and he figured the net loss to the Company at $415,600 annually. The eleven ships under foreign flags supported the other ships. The fast ships, like fast trains, did not pay." In the papers of the following day he is reported to have further explained his testimony as follows: "The reason for the need of such legislation he places at the door of the protective tariff, with its consequent higher scale of wages. The Liverpool scale of wages for firemen, for instance, he said, is $17 to $30 a month, while the American rate is $35 or more."

When President Griscom declares that "the fast ships, like fast trains, do not pay," I take it that he means that fast ships which are competing for high-class passenger service are less profitable than slow ships, and hence need to be especially subsidized. Whether his statement is intended to apply (in a less degree, of course) to fast ships under foreign flags, as well as to those under the American flag, or not, is not made clear. But, however this may be, it means that high-class passenger service is much more unprofitable, under the American flag, than freight and low-class passenger service. The question is, What do we want with business that can be carried on only at a loss? Of course this applies to all ships requiring a subsidy, but it applies to fast ships particularly, where the loss is very much greater. It is plain that the subsidy will not make the business any more profitable. It will only tax the American people

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and thus reduce the remuneration of profitable American industry, in order to make up the loss on this unprofitable business. If foreigners see fit to carry us across the ocean, in a floating palace, for less than cost, surely we have reason to wish them joy of the traffic, and no reason whatever to wish to deprive them of it. For instance (supposing the subsidy is sufficient only to make good the actual loss), if it costs $100 to transport an American citizen across the Atlantic, in a fast ship under the American flag, and the foreign companies are willing to do it for $80, how can it benefit the American people to give him (or the steamship company on his behalf) $20 out of the public treasury merely to enable him to sail under the American flag? Under the foreign flag he uses but $80 of American wealth, all of which is of his own private funds. In the subsidized ship, under the American flag, he would use $100 (instead of $80) of American wealth, 20 per cent. of which would be out of the public funds, and would entail that much reduction of the profits of American industry. If this American citizen cannot afford to go abroad, with a satisfactory display of patriotism, at his own expense, it is evidently best for the American people that he should display his patriotism by staying at home.

The other point is, that ships, under the American flag, being compelled by our laws to employ American labor, cannot compete with ships under foreign flags, on account of the higher wage-rate of this country. This is supposed to be true (in differing degrees) of both slow and fast ships. The statement that this higher wage-rate is due to the tariff has nothing to do with the matter. It is altogether gratuitous. All that concerns the Subsidy bill is the statement that foreign labor can be hired for less than American labor. Hence the question here is, What benefit can it be to the American people to take money out of the public treasury in order to bring business under the American flag which is not sufficiently profitable to afford American wages? President Griscom, who, undoubtedly, is a thoroughly competent witness, says substantially that the actual earning capacity of a marine fireman is from $17 to $30 a month. He mentions firemen as representative of all employees, in respect to the difference between the American and foreign wage-rate, and says, in effect, that they must be hired at that rate to enable the company to do business at a profit. And he also says that the American rate is $35 or more, and hence the need of a subsidy to enable the company to hire American labor. Now, the only conceivable reason why American firemen must be paid $35 or more a month is because they have other employment which is profitable at that rate; and it follows that the Ship Subsidy bill is a proposition to tax the whole population of the United States and give the proceeds to the steamship companies to enable them to transfer American workmen from profitable to relatively unprofitable employment. This is much worse than robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Is it not evident that the only right way to bring foreign commerce under our flag is to change our navigation laws and our customs laws, so that business can be done profitably? FREEMAN STEWART.

PHILADELPHIA, February 10, 1900.

"PHANTOMNATION."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Nowhere that I have seen this monstrosity adverted to is anything said relative to its history.

We find, in Richard Paul Jodrell's *Philology on the English Language*, published in 1820:

"*Phantomnation, n.* A multitude of spectres. 'These solemn vows and holy offerings paid To all the *phantomnations* of the dead.' Pope, *Odyssey*, b. x., v. 627."

Worcester followed, in 1860, with:

"*Phantomnation, n.* Illusion. Pope."

A few years later, Webster's editors proposed, aiming at an improvement on Worcester:

"*Phantomnation, n.* Appearance or act of a phantom; illusion. [*Obs. and rare.*] Pope."

In England and its dependencies, this Brummagem gem of lexicography is known chiefly through the medium of Ogilvie's Dictionary.

If those who have accepted *phantomnation* as incomplex had used their eyes to proper purpose, their recorded treatment of it would have been impossible. Though "a multitude of spectres" is not one with "a nation made up of phantoms," Jodrell plainly understood what he essayed to define. But his definition was passed by unobserved, and so was the very next article after his *phantomnation*, namely, *phantomprophet*,—also credited to Pope,—explained by "an incorporeal seer." A single glance, other than the most hasty, at his article on either of those eccentricities would have sufficed to reveal that he was possessed with a singular caprice. In *phantom* we have a substantive passing into an adjective; so that, *phantomnation* being no stereotyped combination, either *phantom-nation* or *phantom nation* is permissible, with hardly anything to choose between them. The point is by no means a nice one.

Worcester, where quoted above, gives no information as to where he learned that Pope has *phantomnation*, or as to who first defined it "illusion," or something similar. It would be curious to know how many of those who, like him, have appropriated it, were aware of its being in Jodrell. That they all went astray owing to a coincidence of oscitancy is clearly beyond belief. We must suppose, then, that their miscarriage had its source in the too frequent practice of their craft in general: whatever novelty one of them brings forward is spheterized by his successors in compilation, without scrutiny and without acknowedgment of indebtedness.

A good relevant example is offered in the fortunes of Archdeacon Todd's *innuent*, which he evolved out of Robert Burton's *inuent*, for *invent*. To produce a hundred spuriosities matching this, I need only explore a few of my pigeon-holes. And what acquaintance could any patron of the spookish *phantomnation*, "illusion," have had with the English of Pope, a severe purist, to believe him capable of being the father of such a misbegotten bantling? In order to its existence, it is necessary to presume the verb *phantomnate;* and how could that, or a derivative of it, come by an epenthetic *n?* That Bishop Hall, Owen Feltham, Sir Thomas Browne, or Henry More might have coined *phantomnate* or *phantomnation* is not wholly incredible.

Endless are the mishaps of dictionary-wrights and glossarists. I will instance a couple more, both of them disastrous croppers, and so conclude.

Among the publications of the early English Text Society is a volume containing Simon Fish's *Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, etc., in which occurs *gnatonical*. This, in the Glossarial Index to the volume, is interpreted "gnat-like." Looking to the sense assigned to *gnatonical*—correctly *gnathonical*—equally with it might be expected *catonical, ratonical*, or *spratonical*. As little connection had Terence's Gnatho with *gnats* as his Thraso had with *thrashing*.

In the *Supplemental Glossary* of the Rev. T. Lewis O. Davies, M.A., we find, taken from an old divine, *glossem*, regarding which we are told, as a tentative guide to its signification: "I suppose meant for *gloss 'em*." A little search ought surely to have resulted in the discovery of γλώσσημα, of which it is a shortening. F. H.

MARLESFORD, ENGLAND, January 13, 1900.

P. S.—The *Encyclopædic Dictionary*, analyzing *phantomnation* into *phantom* and *-nation*, defines it: "An appearance, as of a phantom; an illusion." Its mysterious *-nation* is left unexplained.

Notes.

We are requested to give notice that any person having letters from the late Gen. S. C. Armstrong of Hampton, Va., will greatly oblige his family by communicating with Mrs. Edith Armstrong Talbot, Holderness, N. H.

Funk & Wagnalls Co. announce for spring publication 'The Hexaglot Bible,' edited with co-laborers by the Rev. Edward Riches De Levante, in six quarto volumes for Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, German, and French (O. T.), and Greek, Syriac, Latin, English, German, and French (N. T.); 'A Mental Index to the Bible,' by the Rev. S. C. Thompson; 'The Jefferson Cyclopædia,' by John P. Foley; and 'The Domestic Blunders of Women,' by "A Mere Man."

'The Distribution of Wealth: A Theory of Wages, Interests, and Profits,' by Prof. John Bates Clark of Columbia; 'Rural Wealth and Welfare,' by George T. Fairchild; 'A History of Rome for High Schools and Academies,' by George Willis Botsford; and 'The Teaching and Study of Elementary Mathematics,' by David Eugene Smith, are in the press of Macmillan Co.

Cassell & Co. will shortly have ready Schilling's Spanish Grammar, translated and edited by Frederick Zagel; and 'Our Rarer British Breeding-Birds; Their Nests and Summer Haunts,' by Richard Kearton.

Brentano's will bring out 'The Writing-Table of the Twentieth Century,' "an indispensable book for all American Society correspondents," by F. Schuyler Matthews.

A translation of Balzac's Letters to Mme. Hanska, by Miss Wormeley, is promised by Hardy, Pratt & Co., Boston.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will soon issue Michelangelo's Sonnets, edited by William Wells Newell.

A new novel, 'She Walks in Beauty,' by Katharine Tynan, is announced by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

"The Riverside Art Series" (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) follows the 'Raphael' of its first issue by a 'Rembrandt' which is, as to text, by the same writer, Estelle M. Hurll,

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as the former volume. Great story-teller as Rembrandt was, upon occasion, he is yet less essentially an illustrator than was Raphael, and one feels that more of the essence of his art is omitted in the kind of comment that Miss Hurll gives than in the case of the Urbinate. Parts of the little book read dangerously like illustrated Sunday-school lessons. The reproductions are rather better than in the first issue, but are not yet irreproachable.

Just one year after the first appearance of Dr. Frank Hall Thorp's 'Outlines of Industrial Chemistry' (Macmillan Co.) comes a new and revised edition. If the determination is to revise this publication yearly, it will undoubtedly gain vastly in importance. In the early years it will be requisite not only to keep up with the march of improvement, but also to remedy inevitable faults of the original preparation. We find, however, only two considerable changes in this issue: namely, on p. 446, a paragraph of eleven lines on carbonizing wool is inserted at the expense of a shorter paragraph on scouring wool, two others being more concisely expressed; and on p. 51 an account of the Herreshoff Pyrites Burner takes the place of descriptions of the Perret-Ollivier Furnace and the Hasenclever-Helbig Burner. The other changes that we have remarked do not amount to a score of slight corrections. The index is amended by the addition of a single entry, besides those which the above-mentioned insertions in the text required. The lists of authorities are almost absolutely unchanged. Not even new editions have been noticed. At this rate, the work, far from being improved, is barely maintaining its place in the line of march. Its external appearance is even handsomer, owing to the paper taking the ink better; and figure 26 has been redrawn to advantage.

Prof. John Goodman's 'Mechanics Applied to Engineering' (Longmans) is a book which we may just mention, notwithstanding its elementary technical character, because its purpose is peculiar. It is addressed to men who have some knowledge of mechanics, as taught in the mathematical treatises, but whose knowledge floats among the clouds, so that they do not know how to apply it to engineering problems. Among the various effects of the usual bad teaching of mathematics, this is a very common one; and this work will do something for the victims. Part of it, however, seems to fall between two stools, being superfluous for those who are up in theoretical mechanics, and insufficient for those who are not. This will not prevent other parts of the book from being useful. Even an accomplished engineer will find some things in it worthy of his attention.

'Mathematics,' from the Chicago *Record* (Doubleday & McClure Co.), will be found useful by journeymen carpenters who are deficient in the theoretical side of their profession, and perhaps by some others.

Prof. William Ripper's 'Steam-Engine Theory and Practice' (Longmans), though too technical to be criticised here, is, nevertheless, so well put together and so concisely expressed as to deserve notice for its literary merit; and the matter of it is equally judicious and strong. So far as we have tested it, we have found it unusually accurate. But that students who mean to make it their business to understand the steam-engine, and who have gone so far as to know what differentials and integrals are, should shirk the labor of going on to learn enough mathematics thoroughly to master the theory of thermodynamics, and should find themselves sufficiently numerous to compel the adaptation of a work like this to their half-and-halfness—this, we must say, bespeaks some great fault in the methods of teaching. Perhaps it is ultimately traceable to the neglect of scientific logic, in consequence of which teachers of mathematics, not fully understanding its logic themselves, are unable to impart it to others, unless their pupils have a natural gift that makes them independent of teaching. But, given the conditions, we cannot see how Prof. Ripper could have done better than he has.

Dr. Philip Atkinson's 'Power Transmitted by Electricity' (Van Nostrand) has been fully revised; and obsolete matter has been cut out. There is nothing useless in it, and it well represents the present state of the art.

A new volume of "The Specialists' Series" is 'An Introduction to the Study of Central-Station Electricity Supply,' by Albert Gay and C. H. Yeaman (Macmillan). It is to some extent a work of reference, but is much rather a book to be read, dealing broadly with all sorts of points which arise in the conduct of a central station, but which are distinct from direct problems of electric lighting. There is no attempt at treating details exhaustively; but we feel sure that the discussions the work contains will be highly appreciated and found serviceable by those to whom they are addressed.

We believe there is no more uncompromising educational iconoclasm on record than that indulged in by Superintendent Edwin P. Seaver of Boston in his delineation (in the *Educational Review* for February) of the ideal public high school of the twentieth century. Yet some such plan as he proposes is what we are inevitably coming to: the ever-widening field of knowledge, the accumulating mass of heterogeneous educational material, together with the growing claims for recognition of individual tastes and rights on the part of the pupils, are even now beginning to remove beyond the range of possibility fixed courses of instruction for all. To do away with all prescribed work and allow students to select any study, or studies, to suit themselves or their parents, and to "carry these far enough to realize, well-nigh their full educational value," is merely accepting fully and frankly a principle already powerfully asserting itself in the educational practice of our time. The shifting of responsibility for the pupil's education and success in life from the school to the pupil himself or the parent is considered by Mr. Seaver a decided gain, and it can, at least, be said that the risk is no greater in one case than in the other. For no thinking man or woman of mature age can for a moment doubt that the number of lives marred is at least equal to that made by scholastic rigidity, and by the authoritative or persuasive influence of narrow-minded, ill-balanced pedagogues. The subject, which the Boston Superintendent of Schools discusses in half-a-dozen pages, constitutes one of the greatest problems bequeathed by the closing century to the new.

We are glad to receive the first number of an attractive quarterly magazine, albeit of slender dimensions, entitled the *Pennsylvania German*, and edited at Lebanon, Pa., by the Rev. P. C. Croll. It is to a large extent devoted to Conrad Weiser, of whom a curious frontispiece portrait is given. He heads a series of "Famous Pennsylvania Germans." Next follow some "Poetic Gems," in the dialect and partly in translation. The tourist is invited by an interesting "Historic Pilgrimage over the Old Horse-Shoe Pike." Numerous illustrations helpfully adorn the number.

The modification of the American character by the physical nature of the country is dwelt upon by A. Oppel in the *Annales de Géographie* for January. A sympathetic and suggestive record of the impressions of an intelligent observer closes with a reference to the wonderful assimilative power of the country, especially over Germans, and to the completion of the "economic domain" by the acquisition of tropical possessions and its probable effects upon our future. Other articles are a résumé of recent investigations of coral reefs; observations on Mt. Blanc, and on the vegetation of the Caucasus (with a map); and an interesting sketch, with numerous illustrations, of some of the Berber tribes inhabiting the Aurès, the highest chain of the Atlas Mountains.

The *Bulletin* of the Society of Civil Engineers of France, at Paris, has become a semi-monthly, and is published on the 15th and 30th of each month. The first number of the current volume contains the conclusion of Périssé and Godfernaux's interesting memoir on mechanical traction as applied to public conveyances on railroads and highways.

Among the contents of *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, number twelve, is a suggestive colored map, with notes, showing the distribution of the agricultural and industrial population of the German Empire. A glance suffices to perceive that eastern Prussia and Bavaria are almost exclusively agricultural, while Saxony and Brunswick are wholly devoted to manufactures. The editor summarizes the meteorological observations of the Belgian Antarctic expedition, and holds that they prove that the absolute "Kältepol" of the earth is to be found there. The index of the geographical publications for the year exhibits the influence of current events on this branch of literature. The whole number of works noticed is 868, of which 221 and 22 are on Europe and the United States respectively, a considerable falling off from the previous year, while the 127 and 145 for Asia and Africa show an equal increase.

A striking description of Turkey under the present Sultan was given by Mahmud Pasha, his brother-in-law and for twenty-two years his minister, now a refugee in Paris, in a recent interview with M. de Blowitz of the London *Times*. "The whole empire is captive," he exclaimed impulsively at the outset. "Abdul Hamid keeps everybody in prison. . . . Whatever he has not directly under his hand frightens him, and whatever he thus does have in hand appears to him menacing at the slightest sign of individual will on its part or of a thought not the master's own. He is the Sultan of the Terror, and this fact haunts him even as it does others." At the same time he is a man of wonderful activity, working "harder than any of his subjects, but at useless and childish things," as, the uniform of the army and the voluminous police reports. Mahmud recounted his own futile efforts to secure reforms, and

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pictured the heir to the throne, a man of fifty-five, as "shut out from the world. He sees nobody and knows nothing of what is going on outside. Then suddenly he will be told that the Sultan is dead and that he has been proclaimed. It is just as if a blind man were told, 'The door is open, walk!'" Mahmud closed by saying that the great wants of Turkey are an unfettered press, amnesty for political offences, and equality for all before the law, and to gain these he should support the liberal Turks scattered over Europe.

The Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for January contains, besides the regular illustrated reports on the excavations at the Tells Zakariya and es-Safi, an interesting account of a recently discovered rock-tomb north of Jerusalem. From the Greek influence displayed in the architectural and decorative details of the entrance it probably dates from the Hasmonean period. Prof. Sayce contributes a note on the inscribed jar-handles discovered by Dr. Bliss, which he is inclined to refer "to the eighth century B. C., though they may belong to the reign of Solomon." A similar jar-handle has been picked up at Tell el-Amarna, with a cartouche stamped in the same place and the same manner, which was manufactured about B. C. 1400.

The University of Heidelberg has started a university extension movement, and a number of professors have organized courses of lectures for the working classes to be delivered in Mannheim. The President of the Arbeiterverein of the latter city warned Catholic laborers not to attend the lectures, because the programme included a course by Prof. Klaatsch on "Darwin's Life and Teachings," and another by Prof. Deissmann, on the "History of the Origin of the New Testament." This opposition failed to produce the effect intended. More than five hundred workmen immediately joined the movement, and the lectures began on January 12 before a large and attentive audience in the aula of the Oberrealschule at Mannheim. A short address was delivered by the Prorector of the University, Prof. Osthoff, followed by Prof. Klaatsch, who gave the first of a course of six lectures on "Darwin's Life and Teachings."

The Danish Bureau of Statistics celebrates its half-century's existence by preparing a sketch of its institution and functions, with a full bibliography of its issues. In fifty years there have been only five changes in the head of the Bureau, which gives one explanation of the intelligent and consistent direction it has enjoyed and the admirable quality of its publications. Another lies in the careful selection of the chief, for he has been taken from the University or from the Bureau itself. The present head, Marcus Rubin, was long in charge of the municipal statistics of Copenhagen. The five series of annual reports, and the statistical reports and abstracts issued at irregular intervals, are worthy results of the Bureau's activity.

The death is announced of the Danish poet and critic Kristian August Emil Arentzen, at the age of seventy-three. Arentzen's first publication was a drama, "Gunlög Ormetunga," based on the saga of that name, which was followed by a second drama, also in the Oehlenschläger manner. In 1857 a collection of poems appeared under the title "Et Livsstadium" (A Stage in Life). As a poet, Arentzen belongs to a past generation, and his work as critic was also devoted to the past. His most valuable prose contributions are his treatment of the great Baggesen-Oehlenschläger polemic, in eight volumes (1870-'78), and his study of Oehlenschläger (1879), from which all later critics of the Danish poet have drawn liberally. With Arentzen passed away the last representative of the classical period of Danish literature.

—The *Atlantic* for February opens with an interesting article by Mr. Herbert Putnam on "The Library of Congress." In the course of it he explains some peculiarities of this library (which promises in time to be one of the world's great collections), not perhaps generally understood. The Library of Congress is, first of all, he says, a "legislative library"; *i. e.*, "its primary duty is to Congress." The material that it should amass should be "primarily" such as would "serve a legislator in the highest legislative body in the United States." It must not be supposed, however, that this condition restricts the field narrowly. A Representative or Senator may be an ignoramus; on the other hand, he may be capable of drawing for the discharge of his functions upon all the learning in the world; consequently, the field embraces "all history," all statistics, all the literature of institutions, everything relating to government, including political economy; "sociology in its largest sense," to say nothing of "finance, transportation, public improvements, education, international law, diplomacy." Inferentially, science, music, belles-lettres, and art might be neglected, but, owing to the fact that it is a copyright library—that is, a library which grows by a constant accession of everything copyrighted in the United States—it is not likely that these branches will be as weak as might at first sight appear. Moreover, what Congress can make, Congress can direct; and while Congress can appropriate, the Library can also accept gifts; and the direction of expansion will be necessarily determined to a great extent—though Mr. Putnam does not say so—by the genius of the Librarian. To many minds the argument would seem strong that from a library in which all future American literature is to be given a place, the literature of the world at large should not be repelled. In the Congressional Library cataloguing seems only to have begun; "there is no subject-catalogue of the general collection as it exists to-day," and the "author-catalogue" is on "loose slips, constantly withdrawn for reference" and which have not yet been verified. In answer to the question, "What is the Library of Congress to-day?" Mr. Putnam says that in mere mass it surpasses any other library in the Western Hemisphere; but that, deducting from the gross total of printed books (850,000 volumes) the Law Library, "the copyright record copies," and the Smithsonian Deposit, we have a miscellaneous collection of about 500,000 volumes, to which are to be added 250,000 pamphlets. "In these proportions," he adds, "the collection is not numerically greatly in excess of certain other collections in the United States—the Boston Public Library, for instance, the Harvard College Library, or the New York Public Library." The library is practically only fifty years old, the first collection of books having been destroyed by the British troops in 1814, and the fire of 1851 having consumed all but 20,000 volumes of the then existing collection.

—The Spanish war was eminently a magazine war, every month furnishing its new crop of military or naval articles illustrated by the pictures of heroes and their glorious deeds. This was no doubt mainly because of the encouragement given to correspondents, reporters, and illustrators by the heroes themselves. The case is reversed in the Boer war, neither side caring much about the interests of the press. Our magazines rather neglect the subject, but *Scribner's* shows its enterprise by publishing "The First Stage of the Boer War: The British Camp at Orange River," by H. J. Whigham. The illustrations are from the author's photographs. The narrative comes down only to November 22. It seems that even at that date the English officers had begun to carry rifles, to prevent their being distinguished from the men; it being felt that "something must be done to reduce the terrible mortality of officers experienced in the first two fights in Natal." Mr. Whigham thinks that the high percentage of officers killed is really due less to sharpshooting than to the fact that, with the enormous amount of lead poured into an advancing force by the modern magazine rifle, "the officers who are standing up to direct their men run a tremendous risk of being hit." It has been said also, we believe with truth, that English officers expose themselves unnecessarily, merely for the sake of getting the Victoria cross. The moral of it all would seem to be that the English have got to learn Boer tactics; the recent operations having been magnificent, but not war. An out-of-the-way contribution is "A Garden Idyl," by George Meredith, whose poetry is now in that limbo between the uncomprehended and the classical from which his admirers assure us he will soon pass into the latter. Far be it from us to predict, or even to write of this matter sceptically. The fatal *argumentum ad hominem*—if you do not care for Meredith's "Garden Idyll," then you are no judge of garden idylls—is ever ready.

—"The White Man's Rule in Singapore" (illustrated by R. Caton Woodville) is the title of an article in the current *Harper's* by Poultney Bigelow. According to his figures, Singapore is, by virtue of a fair and peaceful English administration, a thoroughly Chinese port. The Chinamen represent 100,000 out of a total population of 160,000. "They are thus stronger numerically than the native Malays reinforced by immigrants from British India." This, however, gives but a faint idea of the relative strength of the races in economic respects. "Malays and Hindus might disappear to-morrow," yet the foundation of the prosperity of Singapore would not be affected. This is because for eighty years an English Governor, assisted by an English judge and a few white policemen, have maintained justice—and the "open door." Mr. Bigelow seems to think he may induce us to do the same thing in the Philippines. The prosperity of Singapore has its dark side in the coolie trade, more cruel, according to this authority, than the old African slave trade. He gives the usual argument for this belief—that, in the case of the slave, the importer had the same in-

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terest in bringing him to market as in the case of any other chattel, while in the case of the coolie (as employers do not pay their coolies until they have worked out their contract time) no one cares whether the coolie perishes while performing his contract or not. But does not this argument prove a little too much? Cannot the same sort of reasoning be applied to free labor in general? If I hire a man to navigate a vessel for me and agree to pay him at the end of the voyage, shall I not take much less care of him than if I own him? It seems that the tigers devour the coolie, too, and no one cares. A slave would surely be protected in some way by any prudent master against tigers. It is all plausible enough; but we should like to hear an educated Chinaman's opinions about it. When all is said and done, we doubt whether the horrors of the middle passage exist anywhere now. An amazing article is "The Moral Value of Hypnotic Suggestion," by John Duncan Quackenbos. It seems that we have in hypnotism a moral cure-all, by means of the application of which to our subliminal selves we can work a complete change in our moral nature. Thieves can be cured of stealing, drunkards of drinking, and liars of lying. Beside this, hypnotism as a panacea for disease sinks into insignificance. But what becomes of individual responsibility? To us, the answer seems very plain. If, by assuming a comfortable attitude on a lounge, or in a reclining chair, and gazing, according to good Dr. Quackenbos's orders, at a red carnelian, you can sink into a hypnotic slumber which will drive out the old Adam, it were the essence of wickedness to refrain, and consequently every one who henceforward neglects this cure will be under a double responsibility, for he will sin against the light. On the other hand, any one who takes the cure, and is pronounced cured by the Doctor, is free to do what he likes. There seems, however, some doubt as to whether, in the case of relapse, the Doctor does not himself become responsible.

—The *Century* has unearthed a fresh instalment of Napoleonic memorabilia in the shape of the original record made by Napoleon's physician, Dr. Barry E. O'Meara. "Talks with Napoleon: His Life and Conversation at St. Helena," is the title of a series of papers which are to give the substance of the record, not already covered by Dr. O'Meara's well-known book, 'Napoleon in Exile.' According to the editorial introduction, the worthy doctor made use in his book of less than half of his manuscript journal, and condensed and modified much of the part which was actually utilized. Nineteen manuscript volumes have come into the possession of the *Century*, which will now decipher and publish, with illustrations. For the Napoleonic student it is no doubt interesting, but for the ordinary magazine reader this first chapter seems hard reading. "Paris Revisited: The Governmental Machine" is the title of an entertaining paper by Richard Whiteing—the author of 'No. 5 John St.'—with pictures by André Castaigne. The "machine" in France is more or less like the same institution in every country which derives its administrative institutions from Rome; its striking feature in that country is its permanence amid revolutions and convulsions such as have shaken no other part of the "Latin" world. Monarchy, Republic, Empire, Commune—it is all one to the machine, which works on, socially, politically, and legally, as if the other changes were mere changes in name. It has the permanence which in Anglo-Saxon countries law and constitutions have. It is the great administrative habit of France, which has come down through the centuries, and in a certain sense is France. How closely connected with militarism it is, we have just seen in the Dreyfus trial. To get justice for Dreyfus required a new machine, which meant not merely a new administration, but a new social, military, and political world. The complete militarization of France has, of course, had an astonishing effect on opinion, and, just now, it produces some curious effects, because for the moment the machine is pulled one way, by a liberal executive, while the army threatens in the other direction to swallow up the whole affair—republic, machine, and all. Hence, on the return of a successful commander, the first effort of the Government is to "keep him out of the way." When Gen. Dodds came back from Dahomey "he was isolated as though he had brought the plague with him." "If America were France, Admiral Dewey would be invited, not to say ordered, to recruit his health in the country; and the Government, while still constrained to offer him a smiling welcome, would tremble every time he approached Washington or New York." So the Roman machine palpitated eighteen centuries since when a victorious general approached Rome. And so, should France become involved, as the army hopes, in actual war, may the machine be once again swallowed up by it. But the machine will still exist, and what has been shall be—till the end of the machine.

—In the *American Historical Review* for January, attention should be fixed on M. Ostrogorski's paper on "The Rise and Fall of the Nominating Caucus, Legislative and Congressional." The writer's imperfect mastery of our idiom makes some friction in the reading, but the fruit of his researches is substantial, and his political ideals are creditably high. The particular kind of caucus under review is indeed no more, but, as this writer well says, it "established disastrous precedents and habits of mind which American political life has never been able to throw off." It nullified the intent of the Constitution regarding the election of President, and has implanted in the people "a respect for party conventionalism, for its external badge; has drilled them into a blind acceptance of *regular nominations*." Should this practice, said the DeWitt Clinton protestants of 1812 against the Congressional caucus, "become inveterate, we do not hesitate to say that to promulgate a nomination will be to decree the election"—a state of things fully realized by our latter-day bosses and machines. "The cry," says Mr. Ostrogorski, quoting further the same protest, " 'The charm of a regular nomination shall no more have influence upon us, and no candidate shall receive our support who pretends to have any other reliance than his own intrinsic merits'—this cry has lost nothing of its timeliness and reality. It has remained a legacy to be discharged by the American democracy. The efforts that the latter will make to pay it off and to do honor to its name, will form one of the most moving of dramas, and one whose vicissitudes will be followed with bated breath by contemporaries no less than by the future historian."

—Among the original documents in the same number of the *Review*, the Journal of the Jerseyman Philip Fithian, kept at Nomini Hall, Virginia, in 1773-74, well repays perusal and reflection. Fithian graduated with Aaron Burr at Princeton in 1772, and went South as tutor in the family of Robert Carter, owner of 60,000 acres of land and 600 negroes. His pictures of Southern life and manners are truly valuable. "Mr. Carter is allowed by all, and from what I have already seen of others, I make no Doubt at all but he is, by far, the most humane to his Slaves of any in these parts"; but "Good God! are these Christians?" exclaims the diarist on learning that the woman who makes his bed and "a civil, inoffensive agreeable young Man who acts both in the character of a Clerk and Steward," have for their weekly allowance of food only a peck of corn and a pound of meat. There is, we believe, no recorded utterance of Dr. Channing's of like nature in consequence of his Virginia experience. Fithian goes on to relate two devices of fiendish cruelty practised as punishments in lieu of flogging by "Mr. George Lee's overseer, one Morgan," and concludes: "I need say nothing of these, seeing there is a righteous God who will take vengeance on such Inventions!" Fithian had already begun the study of theology, and in 1774 was licensed to preach. It is significant of his own personality and of the time that some reflections on his life at Princeton evoked while still at Nomini Hall give him "a secret and real Pleasure," as he recalls the various forms of college rowdyism, "the Mischiefs often Practised by Wanton Boys," the hazing of freshmen, robbing of chicken roosts, and the like, and the "Parading bad Women." The last item of our divinity student is to be understood only by reference to the indignities visited on that unfortunate class in broad daylight by respectable citizens in an age of low morals and heartless indifference to suffering, as evidenced also by the treatment of criminals and the insane.

—Workers in many fields of philology met in San Francisco on December 29 and 30, 1899, to unite in founding a Philological Association of the Pacific Coast. The meeting was a surprise to all its promoters in the number and enthusiasm of those in attendance, and in the quality of the papers read—some twenty in number. This meeting, the first general philological gathering ever held on the western side of the continent, was the realization of plans laid at a dinner of the University of California Greek Club in December, 1898. The cooperation of the Philological Society of Leland Stanford Junior University was sought, and a general invitation to participate issued to all philological workers, whether in ancient or modern languages. The society was thus intended to follow the lines of the American Philological Association of earlier days, rather than the more specialized bodies of late years. Of the scholars present, the majority were from one or other of the two great California universities, but the smaller colleges and secondary schools also were well represented, and there were delegates from Washington, Oregon, and Nevada. While the papers on subjects connected with the classical languages outnumbered the rest, yet other portions of

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the field of philology were not neglected. Of the papers read at the three general sessions, a number were of decided weight and importance, especially "Points of Interest in Chinese Philology," by Dr. John Fryer, Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of California; "Certain Suggested Irregularities in the Versification of Robert Greene," by Charles Mills Gayley, Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of California; "Homunculus," by Dr. Julius Goebel, Professor of German Literature and Philology in the Leland Stanford Junior University; "The Charge of Xenia in the Old Comedy," by Dr. Augustus Taber Murray, Professor of Greek in the Leland Stanford Junior University. Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, delivered the first annual address, on "The Place of Philology," discussing the relation of philology to the other disciplines, pointing out the dangers of pedantry and routine, and proclaiming the wide scope of the science. At the concluding business session, officers were elected for the ensuing year as follows: President, President Wheeler; Vice-Presidents, Dr. Ewald Fluegel, Professor of English Philology in the Leland Stanford Junior University, and Professor Clapp of the University of California; Secretary and Treasurer, Dr. John Ernst Matzke, Professor of the Romanic Languages in the Leland Stanford Junior University. Negotiations are in progress for the affiliation of the new society with the American Philological Association. The next annual meeting will be held in San Francisco in December, 1900.

CHURCHILL'S RIVER WAR.

The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan. By Winston Spencer Churchill. Edited by Col. F. Rhodes, D.S.O. Illustrated. In two volumes. Longmans, Green & Co. 1899. Maps and plans. 8vo.

The reconquest of the Egyptian Sudan was a military achievement remarkable first of all for the fact that unvarying and complete success attended every movement from the advance from Wady Halfa on March 16, 1896, to the defeat and death of the Khalifa in November, 1899. This success was mainly due to one man endowed with extraordinary organizing genius, seconded by able and zealous subordinates. It was accomplished with an economy of expense unequalled in the annals of modern warfare. The obstacles presented by the Nile, the desert, climate, cholera, and, above all, a foe well-armed and ably led and always superior in numbers, were formidable indeed. The perfection of the organization was shown by the precision with which the different operations of the campaigns were executed—railroads built, marches made, battles fought almost on a day and hour previously fixed upon. The English contingent sent to aid in the final attack on Omdurman reached Cairo on August 1, and the transports for their return were ordered to be at Alexandria by the end of the next month. The force, an infantry brigade and a cavalry regiment, ascended the river—by rail, steamer, and by marching—some 1,500 miles, fought a battle, captured a city, and a part of them were on duty in Cyprus on September 23. The purely military expenditures for the three years' operations of an army 25,000 strong were in round numbers $5,000,000. If the 500 miles of railway, 900 miles of telegraph, and a flotilla of steamers, permanent additions to the resources of the country, be included, the cost was $12,000,000. For this sum an enemy numbering 80,000 fighting men was annihilated, and a region one million square miles in extent was reconquered and occupied.

These salient features of the "river war" are clearly brought out in Mr. Winston Churchill's interesting volumes. His qualifications for his task as an historian are a military education, active service in the Indian frontier war, of which he wrote an account, good powers of observation, and the gift (a clear inheritance from his father, Lord Randolph Churchill) of a facile descriptive style, somewhat boyishly exuberant and discursive, but highly graphic. We are also reminded of his father in the entire frankness of his criticisms of the strategy of the generals—not excepting Lord Kitchener himself—an act of rare courage in a subaltern. An eye-witness and participant only of the campaign of August, 1898, his accounts of the preceding campaigns are taken from contemporaneous records, official reports, and especially the personal narratives of officers engaged in them. This latter fact, as well as the editing of Col. F. Rhodes, gives to his work a peculiar value, and justifies the modest hope, expressed in his preface, "that the story is at least as accurate as any other that is likely to be written."

A brief sketch of the rebellion of the Mahdi, Gordon's part in it, the history of the Dervish Empire and the preparations for its overthrow, is followed by an account, in greater or less detail, of every important step in the advance of the Anglo-Egyptian army. The attention is mainly directed, of course, to the actions; the preliminary movements, the composition of the attacking force, and the several parts played by the Egyptian, Sudanese, and British troops being chronicled with painstaking care. Numerous maps and plans, showing the routes taken by the different detachments, the physical features of the battle-fields, the positions of the opposing forces at different stages of the conflict, make the somewhat technical accounts easily intelligible to the civilian reader. But the less striking operations, though equally essential to success, are by no means neglected: the organization of the transport service, the coöperation of the gunboats and the building of the desert railway are carefully treated. An interesting chapter is devoted to the railway, to which more than any other one thing Lord Kitchener owed his final speedy victory. But for the aid given by the British reinforcements brought in ten days from Cairo to the camp at Atbara, the chances are that the Sirdar might have suffered the fate of Hicks Pasha in an overwhelming onslaught of the dervish army. Deserved praise is given to all engaged in the work, from the half-score of English engineers who superintended its construction, to the rank and file of the "Railway Battalion," 2,500 strong, whose "only qualification was capacity and willingness to work. They presented a motley appearance. Dervish prisoners, released, but still wearing their jibbas, assisted stalwart Egyptians in unloading rails and sleepers. Dinkas, Shillooks, Jaalin, and Barabras shovelled contentedly together at the embankments. One hundred civilian Sudanese—chiefly time-expired soldiers—were also employed; and these, since they were trustworthy and took an especial pride in their work, soon learned the arts of spiking rails and sleepers, fishing rails together, and straightening." "It is scarcely within the power of words," adds our author, "to describe the savage desolation of the regions into which the line and its constructors plunged. A smooth ocean of bright-colored sand spread far and wide to distant horizons. The tropical sun beat with senseless perseverance upon the level surface until it could scarcely be touched with a naked hand, and the filmy air glittered and shimmered as over a furnace." Nevertheless the work was prosecuted with unprecedented rapidity. The first spadeful of sand was turned on January 1, 1897, and forty miles were completed on May 8. Then the track-laying began in earnest, and by November 3, that is, in 179 days, the remaining two hundred miles were laid, "the work being accelerated nearly a month by the fortunate discovery of water" in two places. An interesting episode was the purchase of three American locomotives, necessitated by the great engineering strike in England; and in the course of a comparison between them and the British engines Mr. Churchill quotes one of the railway staff as saying: "They were the products of a higher class of labor than that employed in England. They represented greater talent, though less toil. While appearance was not neglected, no 'finish' was wasted on unnoticeable parts. Thus economy was increased and efficiency preserved." As for "Tommy Atkins," we are assured that when he travelled to the front he "was as anxious to avoid his country's locomotives as to preserve its honor."

Our author is not at his best when describing the campaign in which he took part. Not unnaturally he dwells at too great length on the incidents, sometimes trivial, of which he was an eye-witness. His account of the battle of Omdurman, especially, suffers for this reason, though there are some striking pictures to be found in it, as this of the advancing dervishes: "Eight hundred yards away a ragged line of men was coming on desperately, struggling forward in the face of the pitiless fire, white banners tossing and collapsing; white figures subsiding in dozens to the ground; little white puffs from their rifles, larger white puffs spreading in a row all along their front from the bursting shrapnel." Spirited, too, is the description of the charge of the Twenty-first Lancers, in which Mr. Churchill took part. The British were advancing to attack a small body of dervishes when

"a deep crease in the ground—a dry watercourse, a *khor*—appeared where all had seemed smooth, level plain; and from it there sprang, with the suddenness of a pantomime effect and a high-pitched yell, a dense white mass of men nearly as long as our front and about twelve deep. A score of horsemen and a dozen bright flags rose as if by magic from the earth. Eager warriors sprang forward to anticipate the shock. The rest stood firm to meet it. The Lancers acknowledged the apparition only by an increase of pace. Each man wanted sufficient momentum to drive through such a solid line. The flank troops, seeing that they overlapped, curved inwards like the horns of a moon. But the whole event was a matter of seconds. The riflemen, fighting bravely to the last, were swept head over heels into the *khor*, and, jumping down with them, at full gallop and in the closest order, the British squadrons struck the fierce brigade with one loud fu-

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rious shout. The collision was prodigious. Nearly thirty Lancers, men and horses, and at least two hundred Arabs were overthrown. The shock was stunning to both sides, and for perhaps ten wonderful seconds no man heeded his enemy. Terrified horses wedged in the crowd, bruised and shaken men, sprawling in heaps, struggled, dazed and stupid, to their feet, panted, and looked about them. Several fallen Lancers had even time to remount. Meanwhile the impetus of the cavalry carried them on. As a rider tears through a bullfinch, the officers forced their way through the press; and as an iron rake might be drawn through a heap of shingle, so the regiment followed. They shattered the dervish array, and, their pace reduced to a walk, scrambled out of the *khor* on the further side, leaving a score of troopers behind them, and dragging on with the charge more than a thousand Arabs. Then, and not till then, the killing began; and thereafter each man saw the world along his lance, under his guard, or through the back-sight of his pistol; and each had his own strange tale to tell."

The impression of the Sirdar left by the narrative is forcible, and not marred by too indiscriminate praise. He appears throughout a stern, unsympathetic man, unmoved in threatened disaster or in brilliant success, fertile in resources, with eye keen to observe the smallest details in every department; a martinet, but not a slave to red tape. In this particular his methods are in marked contrast to those of some other English commanders.

"Whereas, the field printing-presses of the Tirah Expeditionary Force regularly reported with pomp and ceremony the events of the day, down to the issue of a pair of boots to a native follower, and carefully prescribed the arrangements for the morrow —and these orders filtered down to the regiments through the Divisional Staffs and the Brigade Staffs, gradually becoming more particularized, until finally they were gems of minute thought—the Sirdar would come into camp, as he did at Royan, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, and say to one of his few staff officers, 'I think we'll push on another five or six miles,' and thereupon, marvellous to relate, six brigades of infantry, thirteen squadrons, forty guns, a great fleet of boats, and masses of transport would get up and roll forward into a new camp."

The readiness with which he adapted the means at his command to obtain a desired end is illustrated by an incident in the campaign of 1897. He ordered that a field telegraph should accompany the "Flying Column" sent to attack Abu Hamed. On the officer in charge objecting that there were no appliances for laying the wire, no spools to unwind it from, no saddles to carry it, and not even any transport animals, the General went to the spot where the telegraph plant was collected. Some donkeys were standing near by.

"He walked to the largest coil of wire, picked it up and approached the smallest donkey. He took the little animal's two hind legs in his left hand, and put them into the coil. He lifted the wire up until it passed around the donkey's back, like a horse-collar, only that it hung between the fore and hind legs. He caught hold of the loose end of the wire, and smacked the donkey with the other hand. The beast moved forward, tripping and stumbling over the wire, which began, albeit jerkily, to unwind. Then he walked abruptly back to his house. By this method the Field Telegraph accompanied the Flying Column."

Among the other pen-portraits to be found in the work is one of Gen. Hunter, now serving in South Africa: "Foremost in every action, twice wounded—once at the head of his brigade—always distinguished for valor and conduct, Hunter won the admiration of his comrades and superiors. During the River War he became, in spite of his hard severity, the darling of the Egyptian army. All the personal popularity which great success might have brought to the Sirdar, focussed itself on his daring, good-humored subordinate, and it was to Hunter that the soldiers looked whenever there was fighting to be done." Of Gen. Gatacre, who was defeated by the Boers in December, he writes: "A spare middle-sized man, of great physical strength and energy, of marked capacity and unquestioned courage, but disturbed by a restless irritation, to which even the most inordinate activity afforded little relief, and which often left him the exhausted victim of his own vitality."

Mr. Churchill does not hesitate to say that Lord Kitchener carried his economy too far in the matter of provision for the care of the sick and wounded. Referring to the alleged massacre of the dervishes after the battle of Omdurman, he impliedly charges him with neglect in not republishing at that time his former orders that the wounded were to be spared. "For I must personally record that there was a very general [mistaken] impression that the fewer the prisoners, the greater would be the satisfaction of the commander." Mr. Churchill's commendation of the Egyptian army is warm. He characterizes its two component parts, the fellah and the Sudanese, the one as strong, patient, and docile; the other as excitable and often insubordinate, but displaying "two tremendous military virtues. To the faithful loyalty of a dog he added the heart of a lion. He loved his officer, and feared nothing in the world." In his testimony to the bravery of the dervishes and the considerable military ability of their leaders, he agrees with other writers, though he gives the Khalifa a higher character as a ruler of the Eastern type than he probably deserves.

In the closing chapters are to be found a brief description of the campaign on the Blue Nile with which the war ended, and the Fashoda incident, together with a general survey of all the operations from a military point of view, and some forecasts as to the future of the reconquered territory. The history appropriately ends with a tribute to one whose name seldom appears in its pages, but to whom, possibly even more than to the Sirdar, belongs the chief credit of the great achievement. Summing up the work yet to be done in developing and civilizing the Sudan, he says, "To 'persevere and trust Cromer' is the watchword of the Englishman in Egypt." The appendices contain lists of staff officers, honors and promotions given, and two official documents. There are also admirable portraits of Lord Cromer and the leading generals, some sketches illustrative of incidents in the war, and numerous excellent maps and plans.

THE ENGLISH RADICALS.

The English Radicals: An Historical Sketch. By C. B. Roylance Kent. Longmans, Green & Co. 1899. Pp. xii, 451.

Mr. Kent's merit lies in the choice of his subject. There is real originality in the attempt to explore and explain the progress for about a century and a half of English Radicalism. The sources of information to which he has recourse are not, it is true, recondite; the information he professes to give is wanting in completeness; his thoughts are pretty much the commonplaces of modern English Liberalism. Moreover, while he often attempts to provide pictures of the heroes of the English democracy, his portraits are vague and unimpressive, and he does not possess the rare talent exhibited by masters in biography, such as Mr. Bagehot and Mr. Leslie Stephen, of using individual traits of character so as to make them the humorous and impressive illustrations of the general principles whereof eminent men become, whether consciously or not, the representatives. But the reviewer, who ought always to be in part the "benevolent reader" to whom at one time authors used to appeal, will treat Mr. Kent leniently. Our author's shortcomings are venial; the service which he has performed, by calling attention to a neglected side of English political history, is considerable. Any man interested in the constitutional annals of England will find it impossible to read through Mr. Kent's historical sketch of the English Radicals—or, in other words, of the men, whether thinkers or politicians, who, for some century and a half, have labored to turn the aristocratic institutions of England into a democracy—without feeling that the book has suggested to him a good number of thoughts, though they almost inevitably take the form of questions.

Why, for instance, is it that the fathers of the English democracy have left behind them no tradition? Wilkes, Cartwright, Horne Tooke, Hunt, Burdett, Cobbett, Place, Feargus O'Connor, Ernest Jones, all the leaders and would-be heroes of Radicalism, are forgotten. We should be surprised to discover that any one of the men we have mentioned, or a score more like unto them, were venerated, or even remembered, by the most violent of English democrats. No doubt this forgetfulness is in part an illustration of one of the most curious and not one of the most agreeable features of English character. Englishmen have no popular traditions. For fifty years and more, men of letters have been trying to interest the people of England in Cromwell and the creators of the Commonwealth. Such an infinity of labor and of moral and intellectual power has been expended on an object well worth achievement that some result has been produced: the English people have got a statue of the Protector. But though one might have supposed that, among Nonconformists at any rate, the Puritan leaders would be popular idols, it may well be doubted whether among any class of Englishmen there exists, or ever has existed, a Cromwellian tradition. Macaulay, indeed, possessed the magic power of painting pictures which, whatever their defects, impressed upon the memory of his readers the career of the men who were the subjects either of his eulogy or of his denunciation. But Macaulay's feat was the triumph of literary genius; it could not create a tradition. The names, no doubt, of the two Pitts are not only memorable but actually remembered. Yet there is no real tradition of these statesmen in the places where they lived.

The absence, however, of national traditions is not sufficient to explain the utter oblivion which has overtaken the Radicals of England. One is compelled to come to the conclusion that they never, in reality, moved the feelings of the generations in the midst of which they lived. The truth is

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(and this is one of the most certain results of Mr. Kent's labors) that the mass of English Radicals were, till the time of Cobden and Bright, a very poor lot. Here and there a man appeared, such as Wilkes, who was a great agitator; but he and the men who resembled him were nothing but agitators, and agitators deficient both in statesmanlike views and in moral character. Then, again, we may fairly conclude that one reason at any rate why the earlier Radicals effected so little was that, while there were in every part of English public life plenty of abuses which needed amendment, the people of England did not till about 1815 feel themselves to be badly governed. In such matters comparison is everything, and, compared with the government of every other European country, the government of England was, during the eighteenth century and during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, excellent.

What, again, is the relation of Benthamism to Radicalism? On this point Mr. Kent on the whole sanctions the popular error that there is an inherent connection between the Utilitarian and the Democratic creed. The prevalence of this idea is easily accounted for. Bentham advocated constitutional changes of a democratic character. His disciples were known as philosophic Radicals. In 1830 they were all advocates of Parliamentary reform; they were most, though not all of them, democrats. It is natural, therefore, to conclude that there was an essential connection between Benthamite doctrine and democratic policy. This inference, nevertheless, is of most dubious validity. The character of the Benthamites is of itself sufficient to raise a doubt as to the democratic nature of their doctrine. Never did there exist a body of men who had less sympathy with popular sentiment, or indeed with sentiment of any kind. They distrusted special classes, such as churchmen, lawyers, land-owners, and the like, who, as Bentham assumed (and not without a good deal of reason), were likely in matters of legislation to be biassed by their private and sinister interests. But the older Benthamites at any rate knew nothing of what is now called trust in the people. They looked upon democracy as a means, not as an end. Most of them thought that the only available check on the self-interested legislation of particular classes was a thoroughly democratic constitution; but the most democratic of them, such as James Mill, refused to admit women to the exercise of political rights, and in this matter Bentham himself showed, it is said, a good deal of hesitation. There were, too, from the first, earnest Benthamites, such as John Austin, who insisted that general ignorance was the true source of misgovernment, and that what the people needed was not power but knowledge. The primary object, in short, of the Benthamites was the establishment, not of democracy, but of good government; and good government in their mouths meant the securing to each man of equal personal rights, and then allowing every one to seek his own happiness in accordance with his own judgment. The end of political institutions was, on the Benthamite view, the securing the greatest possible happiness (or, more accurately, the best conditions for achieving happiness) to the greatest possible number of citizens, and the chief means for the attainment of this end was, not democracy, but adherence to the principles of *laissez-faire*.

This explains both the political action of the Benthamite school and the practical conservatism which, as time went on, became a marked characteristic of leading Benthamites. The true glory of the school is, that when their influence was most powerful, they advocated measures which were really for the benefit of the nation, though disliked by the mass of the people. The New Poor Law, as it was termed in 1834, was in reality the outcome of legislative utilitarianism applied to the solution of a most pressing and difficult social problem. It commanded the enthusiastic support of the philosophic Radicals. The most democratic of their number, Francis Place, was eager to administer a new law which was stern enough in itself, so as to carry it out with the utmost completeness. The New Poor Law conferred greater benefits on England than any act of Parliament passed during the century; yet the New Poor Law, though the most beneficial, was the most unpopular statute ever passed by a Parliament which in any sense represented the people. It did more than administrative incompetence to ruin the popularity of the Whigs. Gratitude for destruction of rotten boroughs was swallowed up in indignation at the building of new poor-houses nicknamed "Bastilles."

It is certain that the thinkers who devised a policy hateful to the mass of the people, cared for good government far more than for deference to democratic sentiment. Then, too, as time went on, and a legislature representing the ten-pound householders enacted a large number of reasonable reforms, individual Benthamites became less and less democratic. Austin's last utterance was a powerful protest against any material change in the constitution of Parliament as finally settled by the Act of 1832. He foresaw, and with truth, that the individual freedom which he valued above all things, might be curtailed by a democratic Assembly. Robert Lowe was, in his powers and in his weakness, the last of the Benthamites. The one occasion on which he played a leading Parliamentary part was when, in 1866, he rallied all the Conservatism of the country against a moderate Reform Bill proposed by a Liberal Government. John Mill, it is true, united rather than blended Benthamite doctrine with democratic sympathy, but to achieve this end he departed more widely than he knew from the orthodox Utilitarian creed, and concealed both from himself and others his latent fear of democracy under his credulous conviction that the mechanical devices of Mr. Hare would make it possible to combine the merits of democratic sovereignty with the respect due to the rights of minorities.

Turn the matter, then, which way you will, it becomes, we maintain, clear that, though Benthamism had a democratic side, its connection with the democratic creed was accidental rather than essential. And this explains a point which obviously puzzles Mr. Kent as it has perplexed others. The Free Traders, at any rate as represented by Cobden, were, in their own eyes no less than in the eyes of their opponents, democrats; yet it is clear that they pursued aims different from the objects whose attainment had been sought for by Radicals of an older generation. There was, indeed, an avowed hostility between the Chartists, who really inherited the Radical tradition, and the League. Cobden preferred, even after the passing of the Reform Act, the intelligent but autocratic administration of Prussia to the unintelligent administration and Parliamentary freedom of England. He never understood the hatred of French and of English Liberals for Louis Napoleon. A *coup d'état* he seems to have thought might be pardoned in a ruler who had struck a blow at protection. Might not free trade be sometimes a greater blessing than freedom? Yet the attitude of the Manchester School, though it appears at first sight paradoxical, admits of easy explanation. It may well, indeed, be doubted whether Cobden or Bright had ever read a word of Bentham; yet Cobden, at any rate, inherited (unconsciously it might be) one-half at least of the Benthamite teaching. Legislation and administration which should produce the happiness of the greatest number and achieve this end by obeying the principle of *laissez-faire*, was his ideal; and, let it be added, this ideal, when followed, as Cobden pursued it, nobly, may be a very noble one, but it is the ideal of a Benthamite and an economist, and not of a democrat.

GOSSE'S LIFE OF DONNE.—II.

The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's. Now for the first time revised and collected by Edmund Gosse, Hon. M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Hon. LL.D. of the University of St. Andrews. 2 vols., 8vo. London: Heinemann; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Mr. Gosse devotes a chapter to that extraordinary fragment, "The Progress of the Soul," in which the vivacity of Donne's genius, the abundance of his fancy, and the vigor of his verse are displayed in a series of picturesque, often strikingly imaginative, and sometimes extravagant descriptions of the experience of a soul in its transmigrations from one body to another. Mr. Gosse calls it "a metaphysical narrative," which it is not, and his account of it shows his habitual misreading and misunderstanding of the poems before him. The value of his attempt at critical appreciation of this special poem, a poem characteristic alike of the eccentricities and of the genuine power of Donne's poetic faculty, may be inferred from this extract:

> "Our quotations," he says, "will suffice to show with what brilliant intrepidity he [Donne] will dart in a moment into the very shrine of imaginative expression. Here, as in his lyrics, the general aspect of the work is, as he said himself, 'sullen,' with the leaden colors of the thunderstorm; but ever and again the lightning plays amongst it in lambent and intolerable radiance" (i. 140).

The reader gradually ceases to be astonished at Mr. Gosse's apparent incapacity to interpret correctly Donne's plainest writing, but the incapacity becomes more and more unintelligible. A brilliant little poem of the lyrical period, known to all the lovers of Donne's verse, is an expostulation addressed to his mistress against her proposal to accompany him, dressed as a page, on a journey to the Continent. The mistress is a girl still so young as to be attended by a nurse at night. He bids her,

> "When I am gone, dream me some happiness,
> Nor let thy looks our *long hid* love confess."

It almost passes belief to find Mr. Gosse (i. 151) attributing this poem to the year 1606, when Donne had been married for five

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years, and supposing Mrs. Donne, the mother already of three children, to be the person to whom it is addressed.

One single further example of Mr. Gosse's interpretations must suffice. Among Donne's poems is a set of verses in Latin addressed to a certain Dr. Andrews, in acknowledgment of the receipt from him of a manuscript copy of a printed book which Donne had lent to him, and which had been torn by Dr. Andrews's children. But Mr. Gosse has so misread the poem that he says:

"Dr Lancelot Andrews lent Donne a printed book, which fell into the hands of the children in the Mitcham house [Donne's residence], and was by them torn to pieces. It was a copy of Moenus, whatever that might be, and it had already passed to Paris, and on to Frankfort, with Andrews on his travels. I would venture to suggest that by 'Moenus' may be meant Molinus, or Molinæus, Pierre du Moulin, with whom Andrews entered into controversy. Donne was obliged to have the whole volume copied and returned to Andrews in manuscript accompanied by a set of agreeable apologetic verses" (i. 107).

In his preface Mr. Gosse states that Dr. Jessopp offered him "the inestimable advantage of his revision." He should have added that he had neglected to make use of this inestimable advantage. Had he submitted his pages to Dr. Jessopp's revision, he would at least have been saved from the exhibition of some of his humiliating errors concerning this little Latin poem, for Dr. Jessopp, in his volume on Donne, has given a correct account of it (p. 51). He, however, supposes, as Mr. Gosse likewise does, that it was addressed to Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, but the poem itself shows that the person to whom it was sent was a doctor of medicine, and not of divinity. Mr. Gosse's suggestion that the book to which the poem relates "was a copy of Moenus, whatever that might be," is derived from two verses of the poem which, in our ignorance of the circumstances to which they refer, are practically unintelligible:

"Transit in Sequanam Moenus, victoris in aedes;
Et Francofurtum, te revehente, meat."

They may be translated: "The Main passed over to the Seine, to the home of the victor, and goes, you carrying it back, to Frankfort." Only a guess at the meaning is possible. It may be that there is a pun on the word Moenus, as the name of the river, the Main, on which Frankfort stands, and as the name of the author of the book in question. But no book by an author of this name is known to which the reference can apply, nor is anything known of a journey to Frankfort by Dr. Andrews. At any rate, the suggestion of Molinus or Molinæus is unhappy and inadmissible. The faculty of wild guessing is, indeed, exhibited elsewhere by Mr. Gosse, and his misreading of this poem is not the only instance in which he is careless about his Latin. In the transcript of an inscription in a book given by Donne to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, we find "urbo" for *urbe*, "huc" for *hic*, "perdiscondas" for *perdiscendas*, "tamon" for *tamen*, "fero" for *fere* (ii. 114).

In his account of Donne's prose works, Mr. Gosse is not happier than in that of his poems. A single instance will suffice. The full title of one of the most curious of Donne's works is: 'Ignatius his Conclave; or his Inthronisation in a late Election in Hell. Wherein many things are mingled by way of Satyr. Concerning the disposition of Jesuites. The creation of a new Hell. The establishing of a Church in the Moon. There is also added an Apologie for Jesuites. All dedicated to the Two adversary Angels which are Protectors of the Papall Consistory and of the Colledge of Sorbon.' It was first published in 1611. It is a bitter satire on the Jesuits, ingenious in its design, abounding in strokes of wit and touches of humor, while it displays the enormous range of Donne's learning and the variety of his intellectual interests. Donne represents himself as in an ecstasy in which "his little wandering sportful Soul," having liberty to wander through all places, after visiting the heavens, arrives finally at Hell. Passing negligently through its suburbs, and proceeding to more inward places,

"I saw," he says, "a secret place where there were not many beside Lucifer himself; to which only they had title which had so attempted any innovation in this life that they gave an affront to all Antiquity, and induced doubts, and anxieties, and scruples, and . . . at length established opinions directly contrary to all established before." "Now to this place not only such endeavor to come as have innovated in matters directly concerning the soul, but they also which have done so in the arts and in conversation, or in anything which exerciseth the faculties of the soul, and may so provoke to quarrelsome and brawling controversies, for so the truth be lost it is no matter how. But the gates are seldom opened, nor scarce oftener than once in an age. But my destiny favored me so much that I was present there, and saw all the pretenders, and all that affected an entrance, and Lucifer himself, who then came out into the outward chamber to hear them plead their own causes. As soon as the door creakt, I spied a certain mathematician, which till then had been busied to find, to deride, to detrude Ptolemy, and now with an erect countenance and settled pace came to the gates, and with hands and feet (scarce respecting Lucifer himself) beat the doors and cried: 'Are these shut against me, to whom all the Heavens were ever open, who was a Soul to the Earth and gave it motion?' By this I knew it was Copernicus."

Never having heard ill of him, Donne says he might have wondered to find him there, but that the Papists have extended the name and punishment of Heresy almost to everything. Lucifer asks Copernicus who he is, and the astronomer answers in a finely poetic speech, concluding with his claim to be admitted as one of the greatest of innovators, "who have turned the whole frame of the world, and am thereby almost a new creator." Lucifer was perplexed what to reply. It seemed unjust to deny entry to one which had deserved so well, "nor did he think that himself had attempted greater matters before his fall," but it seemed dangerous to grant entrance to one of so great ambitions and undertakings.

"But Ignatius Loyola, which was got near his chair, a subtile fellow, and so indued with the Devil that he was able to tempt, and not only that, but (as they say) even to possess the Devil, apprehended this perplexity in Lucifer. And making himself sure of his own entrance, and knowing well that many thousands of his family aspired to that place, he opposeth himself against all others. He was content they should be damned, but not that they should govern."

He therefore undertakes to refute the claim of Copernicus, and does so in an exceedingly ingenious and in part a powerful speech, by which Copernicus was silenced. We have given this abstract of the beginning of the little book, not so much for the sake of exhibiting its scheme, and the wittiness of it, as because it was needful for showing the manner of Mr. Gosse's dealing with this extremely clever and characteristic treatise. The following sentences need little comment:

"Donne, in consequence of having dazzled his imagination with the daring discoveries of the New Astronomy, falls asleep and dreams that he is at the gate of hell and sees all its rooms open to his sight. The lost souls crowd the vestibule, but a place is cleared from them and a throne set in the great central hall. Doors open at the back, and Lucifer appears leaning on the arm of his obsequious favorite, Ignatius Loyola. The demon sinks into the throne, and commands that the souls of the lost shall approach him to plead their causes. Copernicus comes forward by Donne's side in the darkness" (i. 255).

Every one of these dramatic particulars is of Mr. Gosse's invention. His fancy continues throughout to prevail over the fact, and he gives no real idea of the contents or purpose of this brilliant, animated, and effective satire, which he calls "a frivolous work," and designates as "a squib or series of squibs all composed of bitter jests and skirmishings." In a passage of curious confusion Mr. Gosse attempts to fix the date of composition of the satire by references in it to publications of Galileo and Kepler, but he takes no notice of a passage in the little book which is of special interest, as containing a very striking and curious prophetical forecast. We are not aware, indeed, that attention has hitherto been called to it. Ignatius concludes his speech against Copernicus in the following words:

"Let, therefore, this little mathematician, dread Emperor, withdraw himself to his own company. And if hereafter the Fathers of our Order can draw a Cathedral Decree from the Pope, by which it may be defined as a matter of Faith, *That the earth doth not move*, and an anathema inflicted upon all which hold the contrary, then perchance both the Pope which shall decree that, and Copernicus his followers (if they be Papists) may have the dignity of this place."

Twenty-one years after these words were printed, in June, 1632, the Holy Inquisition, in condemning the doctrines of Galileo, declared, "by order of the Pope," that "to say that the Earth is not the centre of the world and immovable, but that it moves with a diurnal motion, is a proposition absurd and false in philosophy, and expressly heretical."

The many letters of Donne which Mr. Gosse has reprinted, and the comparatively few which he has printed for the first time, are not only most important sources of information concerning the course of the events of his life, but are also often of great interest in their illustration of his other writings. Owing to the lack of exact dates in most of them, their chronological arrangement is difficult, but Mr. Gosse has succeeded, as we have already said, with Dr. Jessopp's help, in determining the proper position of most of them. This is good and useful work, but a good many obvious errors in the text of the letters formerly printed have been left uncorrected, while the text of the letters which are printed for the first time in these volumes shows too often that the editor is not highly skilled in the deciphering of the handwriting of the seventeenth century. Many of the letters stand greatly in need of extended annotation, but Mr. Gosse has shrunk from this duty. He says in his preface: "I have not attempted to annotate the Letters, which would be a labour quite apart from my present object;

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but wherever names are quoted [Mr. Gosse means, whenever names occur] as those of men and women with whom Donne was brought into personal relations, I have endeavored to say enough about them to render each reference of this kind intelligible."

Occasionally, indeed, he offers some information in regard to matters or persons referred to, but sometimes of such a sort as makes the reader content that he does not offer more of it. For instance, in a letter of 1608 (i. 199), Donne is printed as saying: "Justinian the Venetian is gone hence, and one Carraw come in his place." "The Duke Joyeuse is dead, in Primont, returning from Rome, where M. Mole, who went with the L[ord] Rosse, is taken into the Inquisition, and I see small hope of his recovery (for he had in some translations of Plessis' books talked of Babylon and Antichrist), except it fall out that one Strange, a Jesuit in the Tower, may be accepted for him." On these words Mr. Gosse comments as follows: "Such a letter as this would bear an annotation more lengthy than it is possible to give in a biography. 'Justinian the Venetian,' for instance, was Giustiniani, the Ambassador of Venice; 'Carraw' (I suppose) Noel de Carow; 'M. Mole' may doubtless be identified with Mathieu Molé, the President; and 'Primont' is an Italianated way of spelling Piedmont." It would be difficult to find anywhere a passage fuller than this of confusion and error. Noel de Caron, not Carow, as Mr. Gosse gives it, was the Dutch envoy to England, who was long in residence there, and how he could have come in Giustinian's place is not easy to see. It was Marc Antonio Correr who was sent from Venice in 1608 as Giustinian's successor. The identification of M. Mole with Mathieu Molé is a most surprising feat of bold imagination and bolder ignorance. It surpasses belief that any one acquainted with the name of that famous and great man Mathieu Molé could fancy that he was likely at any time to travel to Rome in company with an English nobleman; that he, a Catholic, of whom it was proposed at one time to make a Cardinal, would be imprisoned by the Inquisition, and that he might be released in exchange for a prisoner in the Tower! It would not have been difficult to ascertain who this M. (that is, Mr.) Mole really was, for, although his name is not in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' the remarkable and pathetic story of his life is well known to students of the period. It may be found in Fuller's 'Worthies of England,' and also in his 'Church History of Great Britain.' John Molle had had an early life of various adventures, and was a man of learning and accomplishment. When he was fifty years old, he was appointed by Thomas Earl of Exeter to be governor in travel to his grandchild, the Lord Ross. It is reported that their travels were not intended to pass the Alps, but a vagary took the Lord Ross to go to Rome, and Mr. Molle in vain tried to dissuade him. "To leave him were to desert his trust; to go along with him were to endanger his own life," for he had translated the book of the eminent Protestant controversialist Du Plessis-Mornay on 'The Visibility of the Church,' and had thus exposed himself to the displeasure of the authorities at Rome. No sooner had he and his pupil reached the city than he was arrested and cast into prison, where, in spite of great and many endeavors to secure his release, he was kept for thirty years, allowed no intercourse with any friend, and where at last, in his eighty-first year, he died. And this was Mr. Gosse's "doubtless" Mathieu Molé! It is a slighter matter, but what Mr. Gosse means by calling Primont an "*Italianated*" way of spelling "Piedmont" is not evident.

So from page to page the reader goes stumbling along over Mr. Gosse's errors, finding the journey through the volumes which promised so much far other than he anticipated. To sum up the character of the book, a sentence from one of Donne's letters will suffice: "I will adventure to say to you, without inserting one unnecessary word, that the book is full of falsifications in word and sense, and of falsehoods in matter of fact, and of inconsequent and unscholarlike arguings, . . . and of letting slip some enormous advantages."

Contemporaries. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899.

Many readers will be grateful for the resurrection of these papers, some of which have been a long time buried in the files of one or another periodical. It would have been most proper for Mr. Higginson to give with each the date and place of its original appearance. In a prefatory note he simply states that they are from the *Nation, Atlantic,* and so on, without indicating which was in this publication, which in that. The list does not include the *Outlook,* in which "The Eccentricities of Reformers" appeared not long ago. Some changes have been made where it might have been better, we think, to let the original form remain and make the necessary change or criticism in a note, after the manner of Ruskin in his 'Seven Lamps' and elsewhere. Such a method would have better furnished us with genuinely contemporary appreciations. All the changes we have noted are in the direction of a severer taste and a more cautious blame.

That several of these papers were originally obituary notices takes nothing from their worth. Possibly here and there we have reserves prompted by kindly feeling at a moment shadowed by the death of a great man. In some of them there is more mere information than there would have been if the writer had been self-stirred to his work. The first number of the series, "Ralph Waldo Emerson," is less adequate to its subject than the Phillips, which reaches the high-water mark, and some others. The amount of Emerson's preaching after his first return from England is unduly minimized. The word "sonorous" as applied to his oratory gives us a moment's pause. Dr. Hedge would, we think, have denied that Horace Greeley was "one of the first, if not the first, to claim for [Emerson] a rank at the very head of our American bards." Dr. Hedge took that honor to himself, and averred that he instigated Emerson to more frequent ventures in poetry. The remarks on Alcott have an unobtrusive flavor of depreciation. We read of him as "in a stately way penniless," and of his "high-souled attitudinizing." Of the "Summer School of Philosophy" it is neatly said that "there was plenty of summer, something of philosophy, and very little school." There is a mere allusion to Alcott's splendid behavior on the night of the attempted Burns rescue, but a note referring to the full account in 'Cheerful Yesterdays.' In the passage dealing with Emerson's and Alcott's mutual appreciation we would gladly have been told that Alcott's account of Emerson's manner of lecturing is the best ever written.

The article on Theodore Parker is a testimony to Lowell's courage in his editing of the *Atlantic,* in which it appeared soon after Parker's death. We miss in it the expected emphasis on Parker's anti-slavery work, than which Mr. Higginson admired nothing of his more. The lack is stranger measured by the fact that the article was written in the heat of the first Lincoln electoral campaign. The sketch of Whittier is a delightful interpretation of both the man and the poet, with little reference to that canny politician under the singing robes, with whom Pickard's biography shows a fascinated engagement. The assonance is possibly responsible for the coming of Whitman next to Whittier. This chapter differs a good deal from the original form. The drastic criticism on Whitman's priapism (with the suggestion that Whitman's broken health was the penalty of an immoral life) "glares through its absence" —the fine phrase of Emerson which Mr. Higginson thinks an improvement on the *eo ipso præfulgebant* of Tacitus. In fact, Mr. Higginson does his sternest criticism of Whitman by proxy, in his sketch of Sidney Lanier, whose description of Whitman's poems as "huge raw callops cut from the rump of poetry" is more suggestive of Whitman's worst than of Lanier's best manner. "An Evening with Mrs. Hawthorne" is very brief, but tells a charming story of Hawthorne's first reading of 'The Scarlet Letter' to his wife. With this personal experience must be classed the remarkable chapter, "A Visit to John Brown's Household in 1859." The visit was after the trial of Brown, and shortly before his execution. The story of the visit is a human document of imperishable significance.

The two concluding chapters somewhat mar the unity of the collection. "The Eccentricities of Reformers" is almost too amusing for the company which it keeps, and "The Road to England" diverges sharply from the main highway. Mr. Higginson is no Anglomaniac. If, like the vase in the fable, he boasts that he has been with the rose, there is some disparagement of the rose. For Lowell's "Certain Condescension in Foreigners" we have a certain condescension *to* foreigners. The highest praise reserved for any English face or voice or manner is that there was something American about it.

Finland and the Tsars, 1809-1899. By Joseph R. Fisher, B.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Edward Arnold. 1899. 8vo, pp. xv, 269.

It is the melancholy fate of some peoples to attract the interest of the world only by their misfortunes. For centuries Finland was known chiefly as a battle-ground of Sweden and Russia, in their struggle for mastery in the north of Europe. Now, after a long period of repose, marred, if we except occasional famine and pestilence, only by the coast raids of the Crimean War, the Finns are driven from a happy and prosperous obscurity by the threatened extinction of their political li-

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berties. To this menace the unusual emigration, present and prospective, from Finland to America, apparently is to be ascribed; for, although a late season and extensive floods last year caused great distress among the peasantry, the past ten years have on the whole been the most prosperous in the history of the country. In that time exports and imports have practically doubled; and the increase has been due as well to the diversification of industry as to the growth of productive capacity in particular lines. Progress in education has kept pace with, and indeed has usually outstripped, that in trade and industry. These results have been accomplished by a quiet, law-abiding, and loyal people, numbering less than 2,500,000, who, though scattered over a vast expanse of arctic territory, much of it "waterlogged" and not one-thirtieth arable, have, under a policy of "wise and salutary neglect," been permitted to work out their salvation in their own way.

The constitutional government of Finland begins with the statute called the Form of Government, granted by the Swedish Crown in 1772. By this statute, which was confirmed by the Acts of Union and Security in 1789, the principle was established that the country was governed by the king, subject to laws enacted by him with the advice and consent of a diet consisting of representatives of the four estates of the realm, the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants. When, in 1809, the country was joined to Russia, Alexander I., who assumed the title of Grand Duke of Finland as an appendage to his imperial office, convoked the Diet, and signed an Act of Assurance by which the fundamental laws were ratified. A similar act has been signed by each of his successors. Alexander I. also exhibited his goodwill toward Finland by restoring to it the province of Viborg, which was ceded by Sweden to Russia in 1721. The Diet, however, was not again convoked till 1863. Meanwhile, the government of the country, except as to matters of foreign affairs and war, was conducted through a secretary of state for Finland, who resided in St. Petersburg, and by a governing body in Finland called the Senate, composed of the heads of public offices appointed by the Tsar, and possessed of executive, advisory, and judicial functions. By Alexander II. the constitutional privileges of the country were confirmed and enlarged. In 1869 he gave his sanction to a statute, called the Law of the Diet, by which it was provided not only that a fundamental law could be made, altered, interpreted, or repealed only on the representation of the Emperor and Grand Duke with the consent of the estates, but also that the Diet should be summoned at least once in five years.

The present trouble between Russia and Finland may be traced back to the adoption by Gen. Miliutin, Russian Minister of War, in 1873, of a new plan for the organization of the Russian army. This plan he proposed to extend to Finland by decree. Alexander II. refused to take this step, and caused the plan to be submitted to the Diet. It was adopted with modifications. The principle of universal liability to service was accepted, but the peace establishment was strictly limited; Finlanders were required to serve only in Finnish regiments and under Finnish officers, and certain sections of the act were declared to be included among the fundamental laws of the Grand Duchy. This result was highly displeasing to the military party of St. Petersburg. Alexander III., while he confirmed the measures of Alexander II., fell more and more under the influence of the party of unification and reaction. Imperial commissions were appointed for the purpose of bringing the laws of Finland into conformity with those of the Empire in the matter of postage, of coinage, and of customs duties. A deputation, consisting of the speakers of the four estates of the Diet, went to St. Petersburg to remonstrate, but was not received. In 1891 another commission, presided over by a Russian ex-Minister of Finance, was appointed to draw up "regulations" for the Grand Duchy.

Various measures of unification had been adopted when the present Tsar came to the throne. He signed the usual Act of Assurance, but it soon became evident that the unifiers held the avenues of approach to him. In June, 1898, the Finnish Secretary of State resigned because he was unwilling to sanction measures that were pressed on him. In January, 1899, a draft of a new military law, by which the Finnish armaments were to be quadrupled and their distinctive character destroyed, was laid before a special Diet, with an intimation that unless the proposals were accepted, summary measures would be taken. The Diet failing at once to yield, there was issued at St. Petersburg on February 15, 1899, an imperial edict by which the function of the Diet is reduced to the expression of its "opinion" on proposals for "the internal administration of the Grand Duchy"; and even in these matters the final "decision" is reserved to the Russian imperial council, unless it is made directly by the Tsar himself. Thus, by the stroke of a pen, the ancient constitutional government of Finland is annulled. A deputation of the Senate which visited St. Petersburg to present to the Tsar the unanimous protest of that body, was refused an audience. A deputation bearing the unanimous protest of the Diet was similarly repelled; as were also the bearers of a petition signed by 500,000 Finns, comprising practically the whole adult population. It is obvious, however, that if the process of assimilation continues to depopulate the country, its results to the army will be disappointing and to the Empire at large highly injurious.

Mr. Fisher, while he evidently sympathizes with the Finns, presents his subject candidly and temperately, and gives the text of important documents instead of a summary of them. That his treatment of topics is not always systematic is probably due to the fact that, to a great extent, he takes them up in the order of their development in the recent crisis. The book is well printed and the proof-reading is generally accurate. We observe on p. 57 the phrase "as we still see," for "as we shall see"; and on p. 86 the words "official the routine," instead of "the official routine."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, C. F. Charles Francis Adams. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Bartlet, J. V. The Apostolic Age: Its Life, Doctrine, Worship and Polity. Scribners. $2.
Blaize, J. Similia. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie. 3 fr. 50c.
Colton, Prof. B. P. Physiology Illustrated by Experiment. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 90c.
Dorman, M. R. P. The Mind of the Nation: A Study of Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
Ferguson, J. All About Rubber. London: John Haddon & Co.
Fletcher, Alice C. Indian Story and Song from North America. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.
Gilman, Th. Federal Clearing-houses. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Hawthorne, N. The Custom-house and Main Street. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 15c.
Hollander, J. H. Studies in State Taxation. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
Johnston, Mary. To Have and To Hold. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Jones, Harry C. The Theory of Electrolytic Dissociation and Some of its Applications. Macmillan.
Kedney, J. S. Problems in Ethics. Putnams.
Lilienthal, Dr. H. Imperative Surgery for the General Practitioner, the Specialist and the Recent Graduate. Macmillan. $4.
Lowell, J. R. The Vision of Sir Launfal, and Other Poems. Macmillan. 25c.
Mather, M. John Ruskin: His Life and Teaching. Frederick Warne & Co. $1.25.
Nery, Baron de Santa-Anna. Le Pays des Amazones. Paris: Libraire Guillaumin & Cie.
Newman, Cardinal J. H. Valentine to a Little Girl. Brothers of the Book.
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